

## Fitting climax to a turbulent Commonwealth Games

THE benighted 13th Commonwealth Games ended in Edinburgh at the weekend, memorable for all the wrong reasons: the boycott by 1,300 athletes from 31 of the original entry of 58 countries over Britain's policy on South African sanctions; a prospective monumental financial loss; and, above all, for the competitors continuing harsh weather, ranging from gale force winds to thunderstorms, often together.

Squabbles over the administration of the Games continued throughout, with Mr Robert Maxwell, the British newspaper owner who had taken on the task of trying to rescue the finances, announcing at one stage that a Japanese philanthropist, Mr Yuyichi Sasakawa, had said that he would make a substantial contribution after studying the final accounts. There was no offer of financial help from the Prime Minister, Mrs Thatcher, when, in spite of a boycott from the Labour-controlled Edinburgh council, she attended the Games. Her car was pelted with eggs and tomatoes by anti-apartheid demonstrators and most of the athletes had abandoned the games village when she made a tour before watching some of the athletics action.

In the face of all the hassles, the athletes performed nobly, with England leading the table of medal winners. They had 52 golds in their medal tally of 142. Canada was second with 51 medals of a total of 115, while Australia had 40 golds out of 120 medals.

A notable absentee from the final stages of the track events was England's Sebastian Coe, double

Olympic medalist, who went down with a virus infection and was unable to compete in the 800 metres and 1500 metres. It left Steve Cram effectively out on his own in both races, hard though the other competitors tried. Another name from the recent past of middle-distance running, Steve Ovett, won a gold medal at his new distance of 5,000 metres, saluting the crowd in the manner of old as he made a characteristic surge in the closing straight. It means that Ovett has a rare set of medals — Olympic 800 metres, World Cup and European 1500 metres, and Commonwealth 5,000.

There was the drama of the renewed confrontation, if that is the word, in the javelin meeting of England's Tessa Sanderson and Patricia Whitedread. They had a bitterly fought final in the Olympic Games in Los Angeles two years ago when Tessa won. Since then, Patricia has dominated their exchanges, but when the chips were down at Edinburgh, Tessa unseated a Games record throw of 69.80 metres with her powerful throw to leave Patricia, the leader at 68.54, distressed and beaten once more. Later, Patricia talked of 12 years' work without supreme reward. "Two performed so brilliantly for two years, but the one time I needed a lucky break it didn't come." The pair expect to resume business at the highest level again at the next Olympic Games in two years' time.

Canada took half of the dozen gold medals in boxing, England's squad being next best with five. But the amateur mood of the Games was slightly dented, some

felt, by the presence of such leading professional boxing individuals as Mickey Duff, the promoter, and Frank Bruno's manager, Terry Lewis. Bruno chose Edinburgh to announce that he intended to maintain his challenge for the title and the other two were accredited by the BBC. England's amateur manager, Kevin Hickey, was annoyed. "It's mixing up two different sports and two different philosophies."

In a wider sense that was true of the Games as a whole, with the enormous weight of sponsorship hanging around it. Frank Keating,

### Alex Dunn sums up the Edinburgh Games

writing in The Guardian, quoted one sponsor talking about the 400 amateur officials who had worked on staging the event: "An amorphous mass of volunteers, 98 per cent of whom had no knowledge or understanding of sports sponsorship."

Keating commented: "So now it is all about sponsorship is it, and not enough to want earnestly to put back into sport what you got out of it in your youth? Balance in sport now is only to do with balancing books. Sport is business and business is business." He also contrasted the role of one amateur official, Mr Colin Shields, a former Scottish AAA president, who gave up holidays to work for the Games, and the deception champion, Daley Thompson, who earns £300,000 to advertise somebody's pineline and who told Mr Shields to "piss off" when asked to attend a

press interview after winning his medal. "When two such worlds collide these days there can be only one winner," said Keating.

Some of the cheeriest moments were at the swimming poolside to greet competitors and winners, including Sarah Hardcastle, who completed a freestyle double; while the bowlers toiled between rainstorms that at one stage flooded the greens with all their accustomed good humour and intense concentration. Daan Woods, of Australia, won cycling's 4,000 metres cycling pursuit gold medal, an event protracted by the sudden track. Australia's Gael Martin took gold in shot and discus and the Australians also won both marathons through Rob de Castella and Lisa Martin. For some, just being a competitor is enough, gold hardly an ambition. For others, like Steven Redgrave in the rowing, gold just pours out. He took three golds in different races, two in one day.

The weather also hit the cricket programme, coming to England's rescue at one stage in the first Test match against New Zealand at Lord's. But the weather went gloomy and at 110 for three there was no further play from mid-afternoon. On the final day Gooch came up trumps with a majestic 183, backed by 42 from Willey, and England eventually declared at 295 for six, leaving New Zealand to score 261 in 90 minutes. New Zealand began for the second time by losing two men without scoring but there were no more alarms and the match was drawn with them on 41 for two. Details: England 307 and 295 for six. New Zealand 342 and 41 for two.

In terms of recent international performances a draw was quite an achievement for England, who responded by making only one change for the second Test at Trent Bridge this week. Gladstone Small, a West Indian-born pace bowler from Warwickshire, is restored for the first time since his first appearances four years ago. It

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is England's 28th team change of the summer. Ian Botham's return to the side never looked likely, even though his two months' ban from first-class cricket after admitting smoking cannabis had just ended. But his return to the first-class scene could be the spur some of his competitors for an England spot need.

Quarter finals of the knock-out NatWest Trophy dominated domestic cricket, weather forcing the matches to be spread over three days. They resulted in semi-finals of: Surrey v Lancashire and Worcestershire v Sussex. Surrey got there by beating Nottinghamshire by 46 runs, thanks to one of their tail-end batsmen, Thomas, who hit 65 when Surrey stood at 92 for six. Surrey went on to 204 for nine, then bowled out Nottinghamshire by 158, of which the New Zealand all-rounder Hadlee had 55, having earlier taken five Surrey wickets for 17 runs. Sussex always had the better of Yorkshire, hitting 213 for seven, then bowling out Yorkshire for 125. Worcestershire beat Warwickshire by eight wickets, hitting 137 for two after dismissing the opposition for 136. In a fairly high scoring game, Lancashire beat Leicestershire by six wickets after Leicestershire had hit 223 for eight. In reply, Fairbrother hit 93 not out of Lancashire's 226 for four.

Craig Stadler, the American golfer known as The Weir, was pipped in his attempt to retain the Scandinavian Open at Ullna, Sweden, by New Zealand's Greg Turner, brother of the New Zealand 'fast' cricketer, Glenn. Stadler dropped shots at the last three holes to end in a tie on 270 with Turner, who won the sudden death play-off at the first extra hole.

Wayne Gardner, of Australia, dominated the rain-hit British motor cycle 500cc grand prix at Silverstone from Belgium's Didier de Radigue. The championship leader, Eddie Lawson, was third, but as a spectacle the event was spoilt by teeming rain.

Isa Ridley sees Chicago down Dallas as American Football shines through the London show

Bears ride Wembley wave

TRADITIONALLY the Dallas Cowboys are America's Team and for many years they have been, for gridiron buffs, Britain's team as well. Not any more.

On Sunday night the Chicago Bears, the Superbowl champions, firmly established themselves as favourites for the month for a public brought up on Channel Four highlights of American Football. Their win over the Cowboys was hugely enjoyed by a knowledgeable and excited crowd of 82,669.

It rained all day and for much of the game but it dampened no body's enthusiasm, the anticipatory noise-level was as high as for this year's FA Cup final and the "waves" got better as the night wore on.

These people were not just victims of tabloid hype about the Bears' William "The Refrigerator" Perry. They appreciated the technical aspects of the sophisticated mayhem involved in gaining yardage and a position from which to score touchdowns (six points), conversion (one) or field goal (three).

It was a Bears crowd. More than the Fridge, who may make the game fun but is unlikely to be included into its Hall of Fame, they enjoyed the first-quarter glimpses of the rushing and running of the Bears' Walter Payton, arguably the game's greatest all-round player, and Tony Dorsett, the Cowboys. And they enjoyed, too, the bravery in being prepared to take a tackle, rather than throw

the ball away, of the Bears' extrovert quarterback Jim McMahon. The Bears, who stunningly beat the Cowboys 44-0 last season, dominated the first 30-minute half, scoring two touchdowns. Duerson ran in from 48 yards for the Bears after 5 min 28 sec, punting on Hill's fumble; and with just under 2 minutes left the Fridge gave the crowd what they wanted, his celebrated crash-over run from one yard. Butler converted both. When Seplien scored a 21-yard field goal in between it was as if Arsenal had scored at Anfield. Butler's 35-yard field goal made it 17-3 at half-time.

White, the Cowboys' quarterback did his best, throwing for 116 yards, but there was no way back in the second-half. Seplien did kick a 22-yard field-goal in the third quarter for the Cowboys but with both sides trying out rookies and second and third strings, and with Dallas beset by errors, the game became an anti-climax.

It was anticipated later on a though by the appearance of a male streaker — a bum's rush in American Football parlance — perhaps. "Football is not a contact sport," said the Bears' head coach, said just week. It is also a collision of cultures: American excess — both teams had 79 players kitted out — against British reserve, epitomised by cricket. You can enjoy both.

## The scourge of doing nothing

BRITAIN hasn't got all day to decide if and when it is going to take Aids seriously. The spread of the disease is accelerating. From a solitary reported case in 1979, we have moved to 36 cases in 1983, 68 in 1985 and 179 last year. This year's total will clearly intensify the trend, so that in 1988 there will in all likelihood be a further 2,000 new sufferers, while the total number of people infected rises to 200,000. We have already reached the total which the United States reached in mid-1982. They now have around 20,000 recorded cases and at least a million people infected. Britain as a whole is lagging about four years behind America. Within this country, the provinces are about three years behind London. But that doesn't give us very long. The latest issue of the British Medical Journal (hardly your average scaremongering tabloid) put things as vividly as they could. "If the numbers affected continue to rise," said a BMJ editorial, "within five to six years the deaths each month in Britain alone will be equivalent to the crash of a fully loaded jumbo jet."

Disaster on such a scale is not inevitable. The jumbo jets have not even taken off yet. But the passengers are boarding them in growing numbers. That is why the men in

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the control tower, Health Minister Mr Berney Hayhoe, is being subjected to fresh volleys of criticism for the inadequacy of the Government's preventative measures against Aids. There are two main defects in the existing health education programme. It is too small and it is too narrow. This year the Department of Health is spending £8.8 million on Aids, more than half of it on treatment. This leaves just over £2 million for public education. In advertising budget terms, this is plainly insufficient. There has not been a comprehensive campaign, district health authorities have not been mobilised, and London has not been given the extra help that it needs. Two weeks ago, the Independent College of Health said that Mr Hayhoe needs to increase the Aids education budget for next year to £81 million, half of it to go on national publicity campaigns. Such sums are not out of place, given the importance of changes in behaviour in the prevention of Aids. Compared with the treatment bill which will otherwise be coming the NHS's way in a very few years' time, it is even cheap at the price. Mr Hayhoe was wrong to react so patently to the criticism in an interview last week. It is important that he should think again.

Part of that rethink, though, must be a broadening of the message about Aids. Public opinion surveys show that people are keenly aware of the disease's existence and that Aids is simply a "gay plague," as Fleet Street has dubbed it. That is not true, and it is important to get that message across. It is important because non-homosexuals are at risk, too. Important because Aids is avoidable by homosexuals, as it is by others. Important, too, because it is essential to scotch the growing belief that Aids prevention is being neglected because homosexuals are unpopular. A government which is prepared to pour cash into public information campaigns about the dangers of heroin (in this context, a much more ambiguous campaign than anything about Aids) ought to be prepared to mount a campaign about the health dangers of condomless anal sex. Which does the Department of Health and Social Security prefer? Ruffled sensibilities or avoidable deaths?

35p

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## The fool's errand of SDI

THE talks in Moscow this week between Soviet and American arms control specialists may well turn out to be crucial to the anti-protest. This is not one of the routine sessions, which are currently in recess from Geneva, and it is being held at a time of year when most of those doing the talking would expect to be otherwise engaged. The occasion is almost certainly the latter sent by President Reagan to Mr Gorbachev on July 25, parts of which have been extensively leaked but the totality of which has yet to be published. In this he is reported to have linked a deep cut in nuclear arsenals with an offer not to depart from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty tie, not to deploy his space-based Strategic Defence Initiative for seven years. The second of these clauses looks decidedly disingenuous because the head of the SDI programme, Lieutenant-General Abrahamson, had stated a few days before Mr Reagan wrote that the system could not be deployed for at least a decade. But Washington officials have been concerned to emphasise that Mr Reagan was not making a take-it-or-leave-it proposal and was open to negotiation. If successful the current talks will smooth the way to a Reagan-Gorbachev summit in the United States after the mid-term elections. For different reasons both sides need something on paper: Mr Gorbachev to relieve his economy, Mr Reagan to gain the historical niche he so much wants as the man who went the extra mile.

Taken literally, Mr Reagan's offer to abide by the ABM Treaty for seven years is a seven-year notice to end it, because the treaty is of unlimited duration. It is doubtless Mr Richard Perle's role at the

Moscow talks to bring that point home, because he is restless under the ABM restraints. However, Mr Shultz promised the European allies last year that the US would remain within a restrictive reading of the ABM treaty tie, it would not conduct space tests of its new equipment, and that promise is firmly on the record. Having taken advice from his own scientists, Mr Gorbachev may well have concluded that SDI is not the threat it originally appeared to be.

The first Soviet reaction, which was entirely reasonable, was that it is idle to distinguish between offensive and defensive systems because the defensive allows the offensive to be used with impunity. Mr Gorbachev may now have concluded, along with many other sceptics, that the SDI is a fantasy and will not seriously be deployed at all. To that extent he is relieved of the need to respond to it. But its fantastical properties do not render it safe. Even if only parts of the system are eventually deployed the scope for error within its vastly complicated and basically uncontrollable computer brains makes it decidedly unwise. The war-to-peace decision is left in the

hands of microchips. But, thinks Gorbachev to himself, Reagan won't be here and I shall. Star Wars will become negotiable.

An important decision here confronts the European governments. All were sceptical about Star Wars, many believing that it would simply usher in an arms race of a wholly new kind. Several, including Britain, swallowed those doubts when the programme was dogged before their eyes. Money talked then in a big way. But it isn't talking very loudly now. The Senate is not going to part with billions to foreign research establishments, and the Pentagon and the US defence contractors are not going to have their commercial secrets handed about the world. Senator Glenn's amendment providing that contracts be placed in the US unless the work cannot be done there has effectively ditched any serious European contribution to the SDI. The European governments are left looking like a millionaire's family who learn that all the money has gone to the cats' home. Perhaps now they will have the courage of their earlier convictions and decide that the SDI has sent them on a fool's errand after all.



You will be pleased to hear my good man, that I am discouraging the promotion of tourism to South Africa.

## Questions of immorality

THE British Government appears to be heading at a small pace to implement the "immediate" voluntary ban on British investment and tourism in South Africa which Mrs Thatcher offered Commonwealth leaders last week as her reluctant contribution towards sanctions against apartheid. The Foreign Office made it clear that the Government was not likely to announce any guidance for British firms for another month or six weeks.

Immediately after the conference, Mrs Thatcher, who earlier described sanc-

tions as ineffective and immoral, maintained that the measures which Britain would take with other EEC countries would have more effect than the sanctions which the other Commonwealth countries are now committed to promote. It is not clear whether she thinks her measures are very immoral because of the impact she says they will have, or only a teeny-weeny bit immoral because they are less than others wanted. She is to receive the freedom of the town of Tongatapu in Natal for her "courageous stand", Reuters reported.

ast source of foreign exchange. But when Hong Kong reverts to China, what is to become of the last remnants of the Raj, which by then will have been dead for half a century?

One unprecedented brawl is small change indeed compared with the extraordinarily honourable record of Britain's Gurkhas: 43,000 dead in British service in two world wars and 26 VCs. But sending them on exercise to faraway Hawaii was obviously no success, and finding them something to do on the still more alien plains of North Germany or even Salisbury after the Far East commitments end is not going to be

easy. They would surely feel more at home with their fellow-countrymen in today's Indian Army, which has much more obvious uses for natural light infantrymen with jungle and tropical experience. It is possible to detect in the various present troubles of the Gurkhas a sudden overexposure to the late 20th century. They can hardly be blamed if this upsets them. Britain should be preparing a handsome golden handshake for the Gurkhas on leaving Hong Kong in 1997. It would be unforgivable to spring it on them when it is so obvious now that the parting of the ways is coming.



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

## Caesium blowing in the wind

David Gilbert asks (Letters, August 8) if there has been any research into the agricultural consequences of Chernobyl as it affects the UK. As research workers who have studied over the last six years pathways of radionuclides into crops, after simulated hypothetical reactor accidents, we feel qualified to answer some of the questions posed.

The pathways of the three caesium isotopes through the environment are identical, but differences in concentration will occur with time due to the widely varying half-lives ( $^{137}\text{Cs}$ : 30 years;  $^{134}\text{Cs}$ : 2 years;  $^{135}\text{Cs}$ : 14 days). It is true that caesium becomes locked into the soil and increasingly unavailable to plants with time. Our experiments have shown that two years after application to the surface of four different types of soil, between 98 per cent and 99.8 per cent is no longer available for direct uptake into plants.

In general, less caesium is taken up from soils with a high content of clay or organic matter, than those which are sandy. We have grown wheat to maturity from sowing in soils freshly contaminated with 1,000 times higher levels of caesium-137 than were deposited in this country as a result of the Chernobyl accident.

On the basis of the amount of radioactivity found in the grain after harvesting these plants, we predict that in the hypothetical case of a person eating 3kg of bread a week made from British wheat sown immediately after deposition of radioactivity from

Chernobyl, they would receive only one-third-thousandth of the annual permissible dose from all sources of caesium-137.

Fortunately for the bread-eaters, there is a partial barrier within the plant to movement of caesium to grain, where concentrations are much lower than in the straw.

However, clearly this protective factor does not apply to straw and other animal feeds. In this case it will be necessary for the National Radiological Protection Board to calculate the dose to animals arising from contaminated hay, straw and silage used as feed in winter.

As David Gilbert points out, some caesium may be resuspended on soil particles blown by the wind (or as a result of rain-splash, which may contaminate aerial parts of plants). This also occurs during the harvesting process, and its importance is little understood, but is the subject of current investigation by one of our research teams.

The processes by which radioactive material deposited on to the leaves may subsequently be removed are also poorly understood, but wash-off by rain is not the only factor concerned. This is another area of our current research, which shows that losses occur under completely dry conditions.

There are, indeed, large discrepancies between different measurements of the amounts of caesium that can be removed from the surface of foliage by washing or by natural phenomena, and we are in the early stages of a major investigation into these, using a

specialised designed wind-tunnel supported by funds from the Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, the EEC, and the CEBG.

(Dr) J. N. B. Bell,  
Dept. of Pure & Applied Biology,  
(Miss) M. J. Minaki,  
Reactor Centre,  
Imperial College,  
at Silwood Park,  
Ascot, Berkshire.

## An outcast in Natal

Joy Richardson sends her letter on South Africa (July 20): "All we get from the majority of Western nations is false reporting, criticism, threats and hindrance to our progress towards reform."

Having recently moved to Natal from the homeland of Transkei, that fragile and insecure region, now seems like a sanctuary of human possibilities in comparison to what surrounds us here.

Three months ago we became adoptive parents to a Transkeian child aged four, who happens to be black. Here in reformist South Africa, we have been unable to find any playgroup that will accept her. Here in reformist Natal we applied for family membership of the local sports club only to be told that our application could not be considered as our youngest child had the wrong colour skin.

There would, we were told, be an outcry if a black child swam in the same pool as the whites.

On writing to the club to express my dismay and sadness, I asked whether there was any way in which I could be expected to discourage the international sports boycott against South Africa in the face of such blatant racism. Here in reformist South Africa, I have had no reply.

(Rev) Edgar Ruddock,  
Dept. of Training,  
Anglican Diocese of Zululand,  
Mandini, Natal.

Sanctions never work, Mrs Thatcher? Long memory, eyes tight shut. New Zealand has just been forced to hand back two convicted murderers to France, having vowed she never would. Why? France applied sanctions to New Zealand products.

C. G. Tilney,  
Toronto, Canada.

## Price of alienating the Commonwealth

In the current debate over South Africa, there has been inadequate attention given to the cost to this country, in political, strategic and economic terms if we alienate black Africa, the Arabs and the remainder of the "Third World."

Indeed, much of the reasoning that has gone into the formulation of our present policy with regard to Africa appears to be based on doubtful premises.

The first misconception is that majority rule in South Africa would inevitably lead to an incursion of the USSR to fill a political vacuum. This is naive. Marxism in Africa is a temporary phenomenon that has arisen as a reaction to colonial rule. If we alienate Africa and the Commonwealth it is much more likely that we shall see a realignment of countries in Africa, Asia and the East to form a new power block in the southern hemisphere.

This division, if it occurs, would be between "the white nations" of the northern hemisphere, against "black and coloured populations" in the southern hemisphere, with Australia and New Zealand represented as isolated pockets of Western influence.

Such an eventuality would certainly represent a threat to stability in the West, because the countries in such a coalition control many of the raw materials necessary for the preservation of Western industry and culture.

Without them, Britain and Europe could emerge as the deprived nations in a new world order. It would also produce some surprising realignments, with Britain and Europe linked to the USSR through economic necessity.

The second fallacy is the belief that white supremacy can be preserved by the army and police in South Africa and that the problem can be contained indefinitely simply by introducing a few cosmetic changes to improve living conditions for black South Africans.

Anyone who has studied events which preceded independence in Kenya, Algeria and Rhodesia, will know that such a view is absurd.

Consequently, support for Pretoria by pursuing a policy of non-interference, would eat heart scars British economic interest in South Africa for about 5-8 years. However, to do so means that we eventually forfeit Britain's economic and political influence in that part of the world to an emerging China and the East.

Clearly it is in our interest to

keep the Commonwealth together and for Britain to regain the respect and confidence which it once enjoyed among African nations. This can only occur if Britain is seen to act once again as a world power that uses its influence wisely and decisively to bring about significant change to the political order in South Africa. In practical terms this can only be achieved peacefully through business and economic pressure. The alternative is through revolution and civil war.

Whatever political measures are eventually taken we must accept that it is likely to be unpopular and painful to business and industry in the UK. The situation has been aptly summarised by Mr Malcolm Fraser, the former Prime Minister of Australia and Member of the Eminent Persons Group:

"Substantial sanctions remain the only practical alternative. It is not a question of slowly applying pressure on South Africa. A good, hard body-blow is needed to jolt the white tend to all business interests in South Africa and the West into realisation that their world will be destroyed if the legitimate rights of the blacks are not recognised now. Golly then will they exercise adequate pressure on their government."

A prime duty of any British government, whatever its political affiliation, must be to pursue a policy that is most likely to secure Britain's long-term economic stability.

In formulating its foreign policy via a "Third World" the Government should be wary not to rely too heavily on guidance given by business interests on what policies would yield the best results for Britain and long-term economic security. Business forecasts and policies rarely extend beyond five years. It is therefore up to governments and statesmen to take the broader view.

Although current diplomatic ventures have failed miserably to make an impact on Pretoria, it is not too late for Britain to regain the initiative. If now Mrs Thatcher has to change course, she should do so decisively to show Britain's full commitment to the new policy, and at the same time pay heed that firm steps are taken to discourage other countries from moving in to replace British interests.

(Prof) John Cronly-Dillon,  
Bramhall, Cheshire.

## Gold through \$400 mark

By Christopher Huhne

THE GOLD bugs were out in force on Monday as the precious metal posted gains of nearly \$25 an ounce at one time and surged in Asian trading over the \$400 mark, which some market participants held to be an important psychological level, for the first time in more than two years.

One of the reasons given by some dealers for the rise was fears that South Africa might impose a precious metals embargo. Others dismissed the notion and pointed instead to technical buying as speculative who had promised to deliver gold they had not yet bought in the hope of lower prices rushed in to buy and cover their costs.

The day's trading on the markets appeared to have been fired in part by the enthusiasm for platinum, another precious metal which can set the pace for gold. American rumours that the South Africans might embargo the export of platinum sent the price soaring to a peak of \$555 an ounce before falling back to close at \$540 in Zurich.

South Africa produces around 80 per cent of the world's platinum, and the demand for the precious metal is more reliably industrial than the demand for gold, and stocks are lower. The Republic also produces about half the world's regular gold supply. In Johannesburg, South African gold shares soared to touch new records.

## Petrol dearer

By Jemee Erlichman

SHELL, Britain's second-largest petrol retailer, increased the price by 7p a gallon on Monday.

The company claimed that competition at the forecourt "has gone too far". It warned that it might try to put prices up again within weeks if Gpec's new production cuts succeeded in keeping crude oil at the higher level of \$13 a barrel.

But there was no rush from the other big petrol retailers to increase their forecourt prices in line with Shell's.

## FOREIGN EXCHANGES

|              | Starting Rate August 11 | Previous Closing Rate |
|--------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Australia    | 2.435-2.436             | 2.425-2.426           |
| Austria      | 21.46-21.53             | 21.50-21.59           |
| Belgium      | 53.12-53.21             | 53.12-53.21           |
| Denmark      | 2.0552-2.0560           | 2.052-2.051           |
| France       | 11.42-11.44             | 11.41-11.44           |
| Germany      | 9.90-9.92               | 9.90-9.92             |
| Italy        | 3.052-3.056             | 3.04-3.05             |
| Japan        | 11.50-11.52             | 11.49-11.51           |
| Netherlands  | 1.1013-1.1023           | 1.0971-1.0981         |
| Spain        | 2.099-2.103             | 2.096-2.100           |
| Switzerland  | 228.81-228.98           | 228.82-227.30         |
| US dollar    | 3.43-3.44               | 3.43-3.43             |
| West Germany | 10.89-10.91             | 10.88-10.87           |
| Portugal     | 214.74-216.37           | 215.20-216.53         |
| Sweden       | 188.27-188.58           | 188.52-188.90         |
| Switzerland  | 10.27-10.28             | 10.27-10.28           |
| USA          | 2.455-2.459             | 2.45-2.46             |
| ECU          | 1.4694-1.4695           | 1.4740-1.4750         |
|              | 1.4697-1.4698           | 1.4679-1.4687         |

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## Loyalists 'invade' the Irish Republic

EVENTS in Northern Ireland took a new and ugly turn last week when Loyalist mobs took to the streets and engaged in battle with the police on both sides of the border. And more trouble can be expected if the Westminster Government presses on, as expected, with a series of controversial measures designed to reassure Catholics in the North that the Anglo-Irish Agreement is working. The trouble began when about 150 masked men wearing goggles took over the republican border village of Clontarf in the early hours of the morning. They sealed it off with a series of road blocks, dashed slogans on an unmanned police bus and beat up two policemen who tried to intervene. The mob set off when police reinforcements arrived but Mr Peter Robinson, deputy leader of the Democratic Unionist Party and a Westminster MP, was arrested and charged with assaulting two policemen and taking part in an unlawful assembly.

There was rioting the following night when Loyalists attacked the Royal Ulster Constabulary after they had been forbidden to march through the Ulster village of Keady, which is mainly Catholic-populated. The mob hurled petrol bombs and the police replied with plastic bullets. Mr Robinson arrived in triumph from 40 hours in custody in County Monaghan and addressed a crowd of 2,000.

The Clontarf adventure was ostensibly designed to demonstrate

## The Week in Britain by Jemee Lewis

the laxity of border security, but most observers saw it as another attempt by Mr Robinson to undermine the authority of the Rev Ian Paisley, undisputed leader of the Loyalists for 20 years, while he was on a preaching tour of the United States. Mr Paisley has always stopped — just — short of advocating violence, but Mr Robinson, now 37, feels no such constraint and has taken advantage of the opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement to peddle a more militant strategy.

Mr Paisley, who cut short his visit to the States and returned to Belfast, said he would accompany Mr Robinson to Dundalk in the Republic on Thursday to answer his charges. Expressing full support for the actions of his deputy, Mr Paisley said: "I think it would be a very good idea to have another incursion." Mr Robinson had merely done what he, Mr Paisley, had trained him to do. He would have done the same himself.

The Anglo-Irish deal was thought to be responsible for the IRA death threat to anyone working for or supplying the security forces in Northern Ireland. Four civilians have already been killed because of their connections with the security forces, and a number of construction firms and suppliers have withdrawn from their contracts because of the threats.

The Northern Ireland Office is now working on a contingency plan to bus workers from safe Protestant areas to work on police and army construction and maintenance contracts. Another idea is that civilian volunteers should be brought from mainland Britain and billeted in secure army accommodation while they are working on security-related building contracts.

While the sectarian mobs were slugging it out in Northern Ireland, football supporters resumed their loudness by engaging in a drunken brawl aboard a ferry taking them to pre-season "friendly" matches on the Continent.

## The Roman way with sports hooligans

By Richard Boston

WHEN times are bad it is always comforting to turn to The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. It is a pity that so many people are put off Gibbon's great work by its undoubtedly daunting size. But Gibbon is immensely readable and often extremely funny, especially in the footnotes.

Gibbon's vast canvas enables us to see the events of today in the perspective of centuries, and what we find is that nothing very much has changed. Indeed, contrary to those who are always going on about the decline in moral values and social standards of behaviour, things in the olden days were, if anything, even more bloody awful than they are now.

On the day that a ship had to turn back on the way to Holland on account of the riotous behaviour of English soccer fans, I happened to be reading the late Sir Osbert Lancaster's book Sealing by Byzantium, in which he refers to the Niko riots of 532 AD. His account sent me back to his source, Gibbon.

Then, as now, sportsmen were extravagantly rewarded. Chariters in Constantinople earned as much as an advocate, profits which (says Gibbon) "must be considered the effects of popular extravagance, and the high wages of the disreputable profession." The factions supporting the opposing teams adopted contrasting appearances, just like Mods and Rockers, or punks and skinheads, or rival football fans. The main ones in Constantinople were the Greens and the Blues who shaved the front of their heads and let their hair grow long at the back.

The hippodrome in which the contest took place makes our football stadia look positively pacific. At a religious festival during the reign of Anastasius, the Greens

massacred 8,000 Blues. "The sportive distinction of two colours produced two atrocious and irreconcilable factions, which shook the foundations of the feeble government."

Justinian's first edict announced his intention to support the innocent and punish the guilty, whatever their colour. This did nothing to prevent riots in which churches were destroyed and a large hospital was burnt down, with its patients inside. Hagia Sophia and many great churches were in ruins, and much of the city was burnt to the ground. The watershed of the factions was Niko, vanquish, and indeed it looked very much as though Justinian was about to be vanquished.

His panicked and would have been finished if Theodore, "The prostitute whom he raised from the theatre, had not renounced the timidity as well as the virtues of her sex." She gave her husband a tremendous pop-talk, as a result of which the palace guards, under the command of Belisarius, burst into the hippodrome on the opposing Blues and Greens, and slaughtered the lot of them.

Gibbon says that "it is computed that above 30,000 persons were slain in the merciless and promiscuous carnage of the day." The hippodrome was closed for a while. Then "with the restoration of the games, the same disorders revived and the Blue and Green factions continued to afflict the reign of Justinian, and to disturb the tranquility of the Eastern Empire."

Thus Justinian learned, more than 14 centuries ago, that in Osbert Lancaster's laconic words: "as other civilisations have discovered to their cost, sporting enthusiasm is apt to lead to a bitter partisanship markedly anti-social in its effects."

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Health Minister scorns  
doctors on Aids

By Peter Hildrew

THE Health Minister, Mr. Barney Hayhoe, last week effectively told doctors to mind their own business after a leading article in the British Medical Journal had criticised the Government's Aids education campaign as "unimaginative and of little impact."

The journal said that the Government would be justified in spending £300 million a year on publicity, instead of the £2 million planned this year, if this changed behaviour and slowed the spread of the disease, as it has in San Francisco.

But Mr. Hayhoe said in a television interview that when he needed media advice he would get it from his public relations, not from doctors. He also defended the Government's newspaper advertising campaign earlier this year, although agencies working to combat Aids feel that it was not sufficiently simple or explicit.

The latest figures from the Government's communicable diseases surveillance centre show that 466 people have now contracted Aids in Britain, and 234 of them have died. The total jumped by 76 last month, but the Department of Health and Social Security attributed this to late reporting rather than an unexpected surge in cases.

But the number is inexorably rising, and the unnamed BMJ article warns that in the USA, where the total reached 400 in mid-1985, it is now 20,000. At least one million Americans are now infected, compared with the DHSS estimate of 2,000 in Britain. A recent conference suggested that 180,000 Americans would die of the disease over the next five years.

"We in Britain have a chance which offers advice on Aids, said last week that the Government would save millions of pounds in future health care costs if a few hundred thousands pounds were spent now on effective publicity to combat the disease.



The fighter's maiden flight.

## Euro-fighter prototype unveiled

By David Fairhall

THE experimental British forerunner to the European Fighter Aircraft took to the air for the first time last week from British Aerospace's Warton airfield in Lancashire.

At the controls, but linked to a computer because this new breed of aircraft is so sensitive that it cannot be flown directly by a human being, was Mr. David Eagles. "Superb," he said as he climbed out of the cockpit. "Remarkably agile and yet very easy to fly. What any fighter pilot would want. I wish we were building 800, not just one."

Known as the EAP (Experimental Aircraft Programme), it has been built by British Aerospace with some Italian participation and a nominal German input. The main new technologies embodied in the four-nation European Fighter Aircraft (EFA) or Eurofighter are: Britain is planning to build with Germany, Italy, and

Spain. Delta-winged, with small mov-

British security forces  
on full alert

By Gareth Parry and Jim Muir

BRITISH security services have been put on full alert against the threat of an Arab terrorist attack. Although intelligence reports gathered since the Government gave active support to the American bombing raids on Libya indicate a broad range of targets, including VIPs, it is believed that it is the country's main airports and its airlines which are most threatened.

This fear is reinforced by the fact that airport security devices such as "sniffers" and X-ray scanners are incapable of reliably detecting the latest "stats of the art" explosives known to be in the hands of terrorists, including the Geady regime.

In an apparent acknowledgment of this gap in security the Government has ordered that all single people belonging to any one of 10 Arab countries, should be carefully searched with their baggage when departing or passing through Heathrow and Gatwick on international flights. The countries involved are Libya, Lebanon, Jordan, Algeria, Morocco, Yemen, Tunisia, Syria, Iran and Iraq.

The order came into effect two days before the Commonwealth Conference was due to open, so intelligence reports stressed that a Libyan-inspired attack on a British person, property or interest was imminent. There had been an uneasy quiet since the failed attempt to place a bomb on an El Al jet at Heathrow on April 18.

But when the attack came it was 2,000 miles away - in Cyprus. Terrorists attacked the British sovereign base at Akrotiri with rockets, mortar and small arms fire. The Government in Nicosia has denied a right-wing newspaper report that six pro-Libyan terrorists had carried out the attack and were smuggled out of Cyprus on an unscheduled Libyan Air flight.

It is now apparent that the attack carried out against the base was considerably more impressive in scale than the authorities at first admitted. A salvo of 60mm mortar rounds hit the married quarters, wounding Eileen Malpas, aged 32, an NCO's wife. Another service wife, 26-year-old Sandra Edwards, was wounded when a barrage of rockets, grenades, and small-arms fire struck the windsurfing club.

Almost as worrying for both the Cypriot and British authorities was the fact that the assailants were able to deploy such bulky weaponry on an island where security is normally regarded as good.

The dilemma for the military authorities is that, while the strictly military elements of the base can be fairly well protected, many other facilities and personnel are more vulnerable.

If the base were to come under a standing terrorist threat and such draconian security measures became necessary, the presence of the base could become a hot issue for the Cypriot government, which has hitherto - for many good reasons - tolerated what in many ways is an extraordinary anomaly.

Were it not for the heat of the Mediterranean summer, the coast houses lining streets with names like Waterloo Road and Kensington Avenue would look more like an up-market council estate in Aylesbury than part of Cyprus. They have their own shops, schools, churches, cinemas, clubs, beaches, police force and radio stations. They are home to 4,000 British servicemen and their families. Unique in the world, they were ceded by treaty to British

sovereign territory when Cyprus became independent in 1960.

If the colonial echoes are something Nicosia can live with, the link with today's Western defence system is more of an embarrassment to non-aligned Cyprus at times. Although the base is supposed to be used for Britain's domestic defence requirements, the lines are not always clear, and the monitoring and base facilities are regarded as an important Nato asset.

They have been used for such worthy purposes as evacuating foreigners from Tehran and Beirut, airlifts to Ethiopia, and ferrying observers to the Zimbabwe elections. More controversially, they currently house two American Blackbird reconnaissance planes monitoring the Sinai disengagement, and US Navy helicopters used on the embassy run to East Beirut shelter there at night since the raid on Libya.

Although the terrorists used conventional weapons in Cyprus, the precautionary measures at British airports have been made to guard against more unusual means. Heading the arsenal now available to the terrorist is the plastic explosive Cyclonite, or RDX - Research Department X. It is light, malleable and devastat-

ing. It would take only a couple of pounds of Cyclonite to blow up a jumbo jet, and in 1978 a renegade CIA agent sold 22 tons of it to Colonel Gaddafi.

The RDX explosive comes in sheets which can be moulded into the shape - and hidden under the lining - of a briefcase. On average such a device, weighing only a few ounces, could destroy around five feet of an aircraft. It is invisible to the X-ray machines.

Paul Eilman adds: Threats against British lives

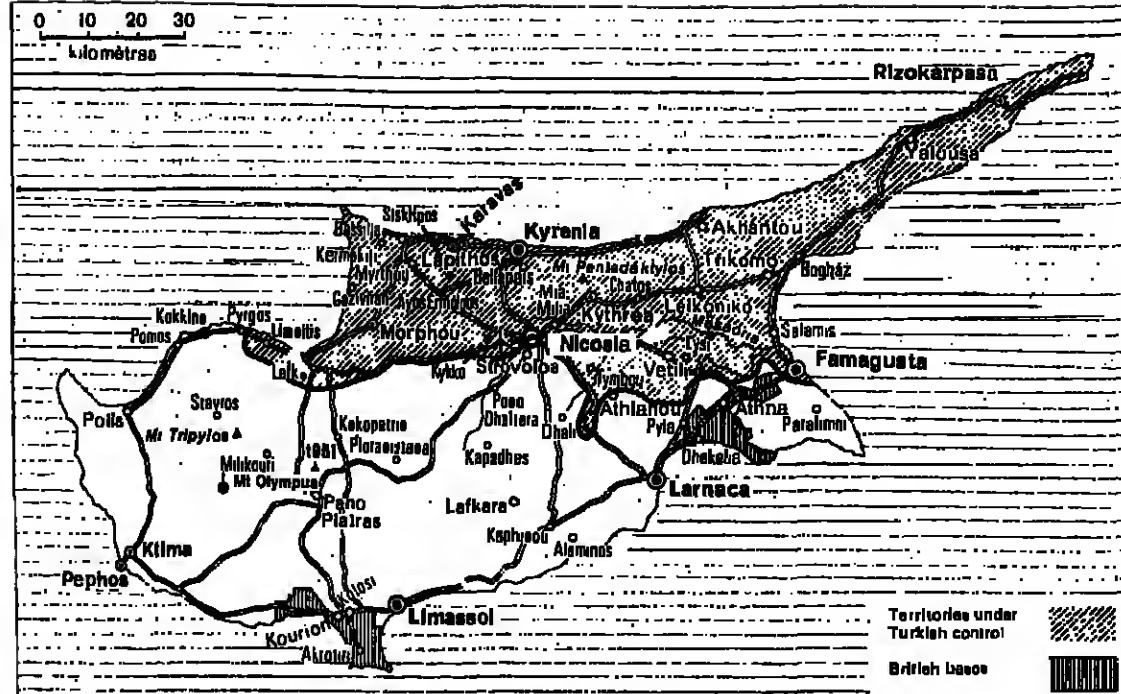
Luciano's Greatest Hits, where he poses in a cloying implore, the cover, anyone who has bought the great sessions with Mantovani, was qualified to be there.

Beside Pavarotti at the front of the stage, I enjoyed the performance of Emarosa Buckley from the Fort Lauderdale Symphony, a conductor whom true Pavarotti fans will remember from his fine appearance alongside his hero in the film, *La Gioconda*.

Buckley is still conducting as if there was an Oscar for playing Tchaikovsky at stake. He is the perfect foil for the great tenor. Where Pavarotti is huge, Buckley is tiny. Where Pavarotti is dark, Buckley is white as a garden gnome, which, incidentally, he also resembles in his posture. Where Pavarotti is still, Buckley is a fidget, his right hand constantly cooing and tickling the orchestra like a fly fisherman's rod.

The evening's routine is rigorous. After each lengthy Rossini overture Pavarotti strides to the front of the stage. The orchestra parts to allow him through. Moses crossing the Red Sea could not have taken more time to reach the other side. It is clearly not only his boat that Pavarotti, the greatest godfather of them all, has lost. It is also his perpetual way in love.

Oh she betrayed me. It is clearly not only his boat that Pavarotti, the greatest godfather of them all, has lost. It is also his perpetual way in love. But Luciano Pavarotti's real fans, the ones half a mile away, thronging the aisles, cascading down the terraces, were determinedly clueless. Anyone who could afford that fine volume of



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Luciano Pavarotti, the world's greatest tenor, the Max Bygraves of opera. Posterity has surely already decided.

temperature of between 60 and 65 degrees and, even so, the RDX stolen in 1978 would be reaching the stage beyond which it would start to deteriorate.

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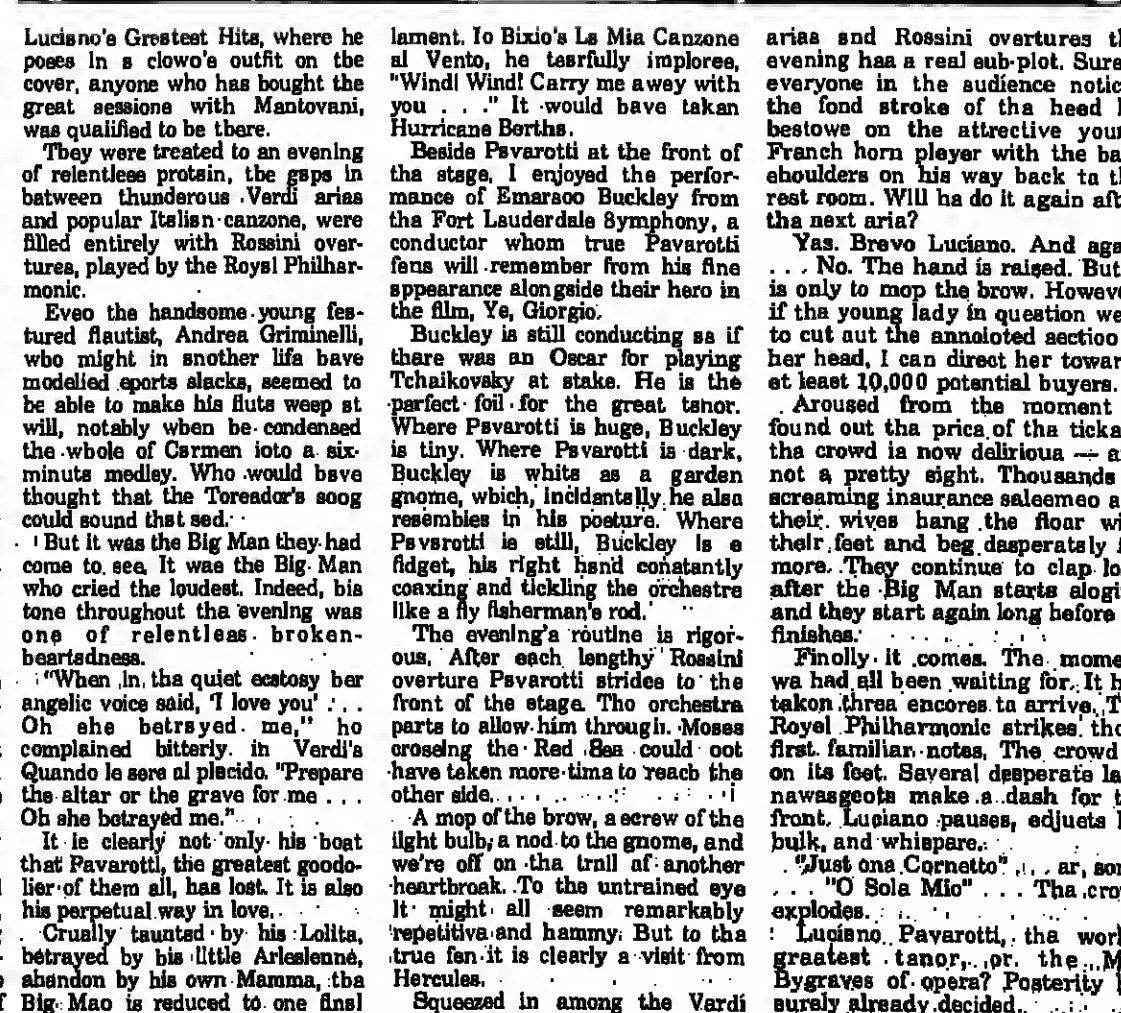
Buckley is still conducting as if there was an Oscar for playing Tchaikovsky at stake. He is the perfect foil for the great tenor. Where Pavarotti is huge, Buckley is tiny. Where Pavarotti is dark, Buckley is white as a garden gnome, which, incidentally, he also resembles in his posture. Where Pavarotti is still, Buckley is a fidget, his right hand constantly cooing and tickling the orchestra like a fly fisherman's rod.

The evening's routine is rigorous. After each lengthy Rossini overture Pavarotti strides to the front of the stage. The orchestra parts to allow him through. Moses crossing the Red Sea could not have taken more time to reach the other side. It is clearly not only his boat that Pavarotti, the greatest godfather of them all, has lost. It is also his perpetual way in love.

Oh she betrayed me. It is clearly not only his boat that Pavarotti, the greatest godfather of them all, has lost. It is also his perpetual way in love. But Luciano Pavarotti's real fans, the ones half a mile away, thronging the aisles, cascading down the terraces, were determinedly clueless. Anyone who could afford that fine volume of

and property in Spain were recovered last week by the British embassy in Madrid in retaliation for alleged support for the Spanish Government in its campaign against the Basque terrorist group, ETA.

The letter was received just two days before the arrival of the Prince and Princess of Wales and their two children on the Mediterranean island of Majorca as guests of King Juan Carlos and his family at their holiday palace near Palma.





## THE WEEK

PRESIDENT REAGAN received a clean bill of health from his doctors after an examination at Bethesda Naval Hospital. A White House spokesman said the president's health was excellent and that he would continue to lead the country.

Reagan's health check was part of a routine examination. The president's doctors said he was in excellent health and that he would continue to lead the country.

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THREE weeks before the Challenger space shuttle disaster, NASA contractors inadvertently destroyed 10,000 gallons of liquid oxygen fuel from the shuttle Challenger, and their error was spotted just 31 seconds before launch, the commission investigating the Challenger accident was told last week.

UNION Caribbea officials said at the weekend that the Shogun gas leak was caused by an angry employee who quarrelled with his manager and was trying to spoil a batch of chemicals. However, an attorney representing the victims and a spokesman for the Indian Embassy here said the company is still fully liable for damages. The case is to go before an Indian court later this month.

A CAR bomb exploded in a crowded shopping area in Muslim West Beirut last week, killing at least 17 people and wounding about 80. A Lebanese Christian leader,

## Russia grants asylum to former CIA agent

By Michael White in Washington

THE CIA's worst fears about its missing former agent, Edward Lee Howard, were confirmed last week when the official Soviet media announced that he had been granted political asylum in Moscow. It was given on the humanitarian grounds that he feared "unfounded persecution" by US intelligence services.

The persecution would be far from unfounded if the turncoat agent, who slipped through an FBI surveillance net last September, fell into American hands. Though the CIA is routinely declining all comment on the affair, it has been widely reported that Howard, embittered by his dismissal from the agency after his history of petty crime and drug abuse was belatedly uncovered, sold his knowledge of US intelligence operations in Moscow to the Russians.

Howard's treason was revealed to US intelligence by Vitaly Yurchenko, the KGB officer who defected in Rome last summer and refuted to his own side at a spectacular press conference at the Soviet embassy in Washington. Meanwhile, Howard's \$8,000 worth of revelations "wiped out Moscow station" as contacts and agents simply "disappeared", well informed press reports have stated.

Several US diplomats have recently been expelled without retaliation. "They're getting the right people," one source conceded. According to the Soviet news agency Tass and the newspaper Izvestia, Howard, described as "a US citizen and former CIA officer," had sought political asylum so that he could "hide from US secret services, which unforgottenly persecute him".

The Soviet President had granted the asylum after being "guided by humane considerations". This is a use of language usually deployed by Washington when grant-

Fund Abu Nader, a nephew of President Gemayel, was wounded in an assassination attempt. Beirut sources say that President Gemayel is attempting to reinstate Mr Nader as head of the Lebanese Forces militia in place of the hardliner, Dr Samir Geagea.

Meanwhile, Israel launched new attacks on Palestinian bases in east Lebanon.

ANGOLA'S Defense Ministry said South African troops had attacked the strategic town of Cuito Cuanavale, about 185 miles inside south-west Angola.

Angola's UNITE rebels said earlier that their forces attacked Cuito Cuanavale, destroying radar equipment, anti-aircraft weapons and artillery. (Washington Post, page 15.)

Secretary of State George Shultz appeared to outbid President Reagan's decision to sell subsidized wheat to the USSR, saying that the Russians must be "challenged" at being able to buy cheaper food than their US counterparts.

The President narrowly averted defeat when the House failed to override his veto of a bill calling for greater cuts in tariff imports into the US.

THE Socialist Prime Minister of Italy, Mr Bettino Craxi, won a confidence vote in the lower house, giving his new government final parliamentary approval.

A FRENCH climber was killed on Mont Blanc when he fell down a crevasse, bringing to five the number of deaths on Europe's highest mountain at the weekend.

PIERCE rioting in the Basque capital of Vitoria left almost 50 people injured last week. About 5,000 supporters of the Basque separatist group ETA gathered outside the Governor's office to protest against recent expulsions of alleged terrorists from France, and petrol bombs were thrown at the building. (Le Monde, page 11.)

RECORD rains in Sydney have killed at least four people and the city was in shock last week with some suburbs declared disaster areas. Weathermen recorded 13.1 inches in the 24 hours, well above the previous record set 42 years ago.

Ing asylum to escapees from the Soviet bloc, including two Soviet high-wire performers, Bertalina Kazakova and Nikolai Nikolaid, who coincidentally arrived in Miami last week.

Hired in January 1981, Howard, now 34, had been trained to take over the running of Soviet contacts in Moscow under the cover of a budget analyst at the US embassy. Shortly before he was due to take up the post his personal shortcomings were revealed, in part under polygraph testing. Such was his mental instability, it is now said, that "the guy was coming apart". He was dismissed.

This triggered his approach to the Russians and may have prompted him to take a job with the finance committee of the New Mexico state legislature which put him in regular contact with workers at the Los Alamos weapons laboratory, where the atomic bomb and many of its contributions to the Star Wars era have been developed.

After Yurchenko's revelations Howard was interviewed by FBI agents at his home in Santa Fe and put under what was later described as loose surveillance. Using the CIA's own trade-craft, however — he left a dummy in his car — he escaped, presumably to Mexico and then apparently to Finland.

The mishandling of the Howard case from start to finish has prompted a scathing report to President Reagan from the shadowy Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board. Among the victims of the betrayal was a Soviet engineer, subsequently said to have been executed, who had been a top US contact. Officials here have called it "the most graphic foul-up in many years". But the title is fiercely contested.

## Terrorists kill Indian general

By Inder Malhotra in New Delhi

TERRORISTS dealt a heavy blow to the Indian Government on Sunday by killing the army's former Chief of Staff, General Arun Vaidya, who helped to plan the 1984 military assault on the Sikh holy shrine of the Golden Temple at Amritsar.

The unidentified gunmen, believed to be Sikhs, struck 24 hours after police in the Punjab had claimed a breakthrough in their battle against Sikh separatists by arresting one of the country's six most wanted men.

But the assassination of General Vaidya, aged 60, on the main thoroughfare of the military town of Pune, in western India, quickly overshadowed this success.

Four gunmen riding on two motorcycles overtook his car as he

was driving with his wife in a parkland area, and sprayed it from both sides with automatic weapons. A single guard in the back of the car was unable to get his gun out before the killers, wearing red singlets, sped away.

General Vaidya, who had recently received threatening letters from advocates of the independent Sikh state of Khalistan, was hit in the head and neck and was declared dead on arrival at a military hospital. Mrs Vaidya, who was also hit, was admitted to hospital and is said to be out of danger.

The murder has sent shock waves throughout the country. There is widespread condemnation of the Sikh terrorists. Much of the anger is directed against the Indi-

an Government for its failure to protect the life of an army chief who was openly being threatened before being murdered.

The Sikh leader arrested on Saturday was Manbir Singh, aged 28. Police captured 15 other wanted extremists. Manbir Singh styled himself commander-in-chief of the Khalistan Commando Force, which police have blamed for a series of massacres of Hindus in the Sikh-majority state this year.

General Vaidya's most famous military exploit took place in Punjab state during India's war with Pakistan in 1965. In the battle of Khem Karan, Vaidya, then a colonel, directed a force which knocked out 88 Pakistani tanks in a 38-hour tank duel north-east of Amritsar.

## Anzus must stay, committee tells Lange

By Ian Templeton in Wellington

A FOUR-PERSON committee of inquiry into New Zealand's defence policy has told the Prime Minister, Mr David Lange, that active membership of the Anzus defence alliance should remain a cornerstone of New Zealand's security arrangements.

The Prime Minister had expected the committee, which included a Quaker, to reach fundamentally different conclusions, supporting the Government's anti-nuclear policy.

But the committee, while acknowledging strong public support for the ban on nuclear armed warships visiting New Zealand ports, reached the conclusion that New Zealanders want Anzus to underpin their security. Most New Zealanders feel concerned about the rupture in relations with the US following the country's ban on nuclear warships.

Mr Lange has so far refused to publish the committee's report and

has sought "clarification" of some aspects of it.

If he does not publish it in full, he will be accused of a cover-up, and if he does, it will present his opponents with powerful ammunition to shoot holes in the Government's claims that it has made New Zealand a safer place.

Mr Lange's embarrassment is perhaps greater because he has handpicked members of the defence inquiry committee. The chairman is Mr Frank Corner, Secretary for Foreign Affairs for seven years and a former ambassador in Washington. Other members were Major-General Brian Poananga, one of New Zealand's great Māori soldiers and a former Chief of the General Staff, a Quaker Dr Kevin Clements, and Diane Hunt, former director of the policy research unit of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research.

News reports say that Mr Lange was "appalled" when he received the committee's recommendations. The committee had sung in unison, and he did not like the tune. The Prime Minister tried a rearguard action to convince the committee it should revise the report. He summoned the committee and presented them with a detailed critique of the report prepared by the head of his advisory group, Dr John Henderson. But the committee said it would not withdraw or change its report.

Christopher Reed adds: At the start of talks in San Francisco with the Australian Foreign and Defence Ministers, Mr Shultz, US Secretary of State, said the US no longer felt bound to go to New Zealand's defence. "New Zealand's actions can only encourage those who hope to tear at the fabric of Western co-operation," Mr Shultz said.

## Congress opposes SDI work for allies

By Michael White in Washington

CONGRESS has inflicted a new embarrassment on the Reagan Administration's Star Wars programme by raising another hurdle to the participation of its NATO allies in lucrative research contracts.

During a special Saturday session of the Republican-controlled Senate, Administration supporters were defeated on an amendment from the Ohio Democrat and former astronaut, Senator John Glenn, which requires all future research contracts to be placed inside the United States unless the Pentagon certifies that the work in question cannot be done at home.

The prospect of a share of the initial \$20 billion worth of research funds, possibly three times as much long-term, was an important carrot waved before NATO allies such as Britain and West Germany to still their doubts about its strategic wisdom. The Thatcher Government originally tried to seek a guaranteed alliance worth \$2 billion in return for being the first ally to sign up. It signed without getting the guarantee.

Sceptics here insisted that the Allies would be lucky to share \$300 million — or 1 per cent — between them, as the protectionist instincts of US corporations and research institutes chimed with Pentagon concern about the security of its classified data. But there are some technological specialists where, both sides seem to agree, the Europeans do excel.

In the event recent — and disputed — estimates made by the American Federation of Scientists, a vocal critic of Star Wars, suggest

that Britain currently has five contracts worth about \$80 million, Bonn four, so far yielding \$20 million, and France one. Italy is poised to join up.

Even though the Pentagon will probably be able to certify in good faith the necessity of European help, the Glenn amendment, coming from a pro-defence Democrat, is likely to increase nagging strains on both sides of the NATO pond.

The Senate move came as a high-level team of US negotiators was due to start talks in Moscow on Monday on the superpowers' still tentative efforts to reach an accommodation over deep cuts in strategic-missile arsenals and the extent to which research and testing of the President's Strategic Defence Initiative can be continued with existing treaty limits — or not within them — as US hawks advocate.

Notwithstanding the tough negotiating stance of the White House,

over Star Wars, it is the hawks who are currently alarmed that Mr Reagan has given Mr Mikhail Gorbachev what he wanted in his reply of July 25 in agreeing to discuss SDI at all. It had become "the centrepiece of the talks between them" Republican Senator Malcolm Wallop, complained on luncheon television last week.

He criticised by name the head of the US team in Moscow, Mr Paul Nitze, as being one of those White House advisers whose presence of Star Wars lacks "clarity" and made it seem like an arms control bargaining chip — which Mr Reagan has always denied.

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## Early money is going on Bush

By Michael White in Lansing, Michigan



George Bush

"I TELL you, he's 4½-1 the winner," insists Lee. "If you take out the undecided he gets more than 50 per cent of the votes," says Bob Scott. "Vice President Bush's support is a mile wide and a mile deep," Lee reiterates for slow learners.

What you are listening to is the sound of sophisticated and highly-paid political apparatuses of the free enterprise school putting what the trade cells spin on electoral entree of unprecedented obscurity in the corn and care state of Michigan. And in the hotel room in prosperous Lansing, 80 miles west of big, bad Detroit, they are having to earn their restraints. The cream of the Washington-based national media is highly sceptical. The noise in the background is money, lots of it.

This is August 1986, but what has brought pollster Bob Teeter, consultant Lee Atwater, the reporters and the money to the state capital of Michigan is the presidential election of November 1988 — 27 months away. No one wants to miss the Michigan entrails in case they one day prove to have been a turning point.

Actually, they don't. What is proved, in so far as anything is, is what we knew already: that George Bush has a lot of money and organisation behind him and that after five years of watching him hold President Reagan's coat-tails Republican voters have heard of him and display their political knowledge by telling pollsters they would like to see him as the party's candidate.

According to which exit poll you prefer, and naturally the contestants pick and choose, Mr Bush emerged from last week's Michigan's 26 per cent turnout among

5.7 million voters with the ability to claim that 40 to 45 per cent of Republicans want him to be their candidate, against around 10 per cent for TV evangelist the Rev. Jerry Falwell, nine per cent for New York Congressman, Jack Kemp, darling of the "movement conservative," and a little less for the likes of Senate majority leader Bob Dole, his predecessor Howard Baker, and even Dr Jeane Kirkpatrick. Democrats, similarly quizzed, pitched by 26 per cent to 15 for Lee Iacocca, saviour of Chrysler and Miss Liberty, over Gary Hart. After all, this is Mr Town country.

It amounts to a victory of sorts for Mr Bush in that anything less would have been a disaster. This is a Bush stronghold where he even beat Ronald Reagan with 57 per cent of the vote in the 1980 primary. But it has cost him an admitted \$60,000 dollars to fight off the late \$5,000 dollar challenge of the smooth telegenic Robertson, the old pre-TV procedure for electing 14,729 delegates from 5,904 precincts, who will in turn choose the delegates, who will (if you are still with me) pick the state's presidential choice for the White House at the 1988 conventions, the Republicans contrived to make a show here last week.

As rival factions choppel and rechecked the entrails, they may now be regretting it. But not all the news out of Michigan was bad for the body politic.

Even before the votes were finally counted the rival big men were squabbling over the loyalty two years hence of the chosen 14,729. But this aspect of the voting was part of a wider process whereby both Democrats and Republicans held party primaries to

test one ends, and the processes' voracious destructiveness is evident in the Lansing briefing rooms.

In fact, the state Republic leadership is also to blame for trying to grab some early presidential limelight. Michigan having resurrected its old pre-TV procedure for electing 14,729 delegates from 5,904 precincts, who will in turn choose the delegates, who will (if you are still with me) pick the state's presidential choice for the White House at the 1988 conventions, the Republicans contrived to make a show here last week.

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choose their candidates to contest state, local and national offices in the November (1988) mid-term elections. Local interest was especially focused on this. And in seeking the right person to fight (and probably lose to) Democratic Governor Jim Blanchard, Republican voters surprised themselves by managing to pick William Lucas who is black.

Even a week before it was tough and go. Lucas is a respected and competent chief executive — end former sheriff — of Wayne County, which is to Detroit what Middlesex used to be to London. Last year he was wooed from the Democrats by a White House in search of respectable black support: the domestic equivalent of the hunt for a black face in Pretoria. But then, Dick Chrysler, no relation to the car though a successful local maker of custom models, moved in. A rich Republican maverick, he spent his way to first place in the polls with three million dollars of his own money (Mr Bush's is other people's).

The media and the party bigwigs distrusted him but his TV ad with their money can do approach worked until the Detroit News revealed that in 1978 he encouraged employees to claim social security whilst still at work. That appears to have tripped him up and saved the party of Abraham Lincoln from yet another racial embarrassment. Lucas polled convincingly in most areas, urban and rural, and won by 48 to 36 per cent.

Ironically, a blatantly racial ploy failed in as much as only eight or nine per cent of Black Democratic voters followed Mr Lucas into the Republican fold. As the Guardian found at the South

Western High School polling station in the Industrial Rouge River district of Detroit, black voters were suspicious of Bill Lucas's upward mobility. "It's the wrong psychology," said Johnnie Williams, campaigning for the re-election of his Uncle Clarence to the city council. "He closed our hospital," said a sweet old lady. "I don't think he was so good."

Bill Lucas is unlikely to become the first black American in modern times to win state wide office, just as neither the Rev Robertson nor the Rev Jesse Jackson is likely to become president. But it is possible to see the emergence of both in a positive light. Just as the single issue of civil rights drew many blacks, including Church groups, into mainstream politics in the sixties, so the backlash against feminism, abortion and even civil rights is politicising the white Protestants of the born again variety. They may pull the party to the right but it pulls them to a centre and, as Michigan exit polls suggest, not fundamentalists are put off by Mr Robertson's profession.

Down at his HQ, full of wholesome young people, the talk is of "stewardship" in the wider political arena. Robertson's Michigan organiser, Marlene Elwell, a mother of five, and, incidentally, a Catholic, used to be just a pro-lifer. "My neon light," she calls it. Now, she is a seasoned politician and took a cell of thanks from Lucas who the fundamentalists had endorsed. Meanwhile, spare a thought for one obscure Lansing Democrat who campaigned with a bumper sticker: "Re-elect Commissioner Mark Grebner. He's no worse than the rest." He was unopposed.

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  - \* Failing to recognise the significance of currency movements when disposing of investments, which could even result in Capital Gains Tax being paid on a loss.
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LAWYERS throughout South Africa were hurriedly preparing urgent applications early this week to secure the release of an estimated 10,000 detainees after a dramatic Supreme Court judgment that the emergency regulations under which they were being held are invalid.

In the latest of a series of blows delivered by the courts to the state of emergency a full bench of the Natal Supreme Court ruled that President P. W. Botha had exceeded his powers in promulgating two key clauses in the regulations relating to

arrest and detention.

The Natal court application had been brought on behalf of the Natal publicity secretary of the United Democratic Front — the main anti-apartheid umbrella organisation in South Africa — Mr Solomon Tshepo, who has been in detention for nearly two months.

The state attempted to have Mr Tshepo kept in detention pending an appeal to the Supreme Court. But during an adjournment, the state's lawyers abandoned the application

and he was released. The application to appeal was granted, but it is likely to take months.

The first of the two clauses held to be *ultra vires* empowered any member of the security forces to hold anyone whose detention — in his or her opinion — is necessary for the maintenance of public safety or for the "termination of the state of emergency". The second allowed the Minister of Law and Order to order anyone to be detained for as long as he saw fit, without notice or right of appeal.

THE GUARDIAN, August 17, 1986

## The forced removals are still going on

THEY look like dozens of silver sentry boxes which for some perverse reason have gone on parade instead of the sentries. In neatly ordered rows they stand to attention, their corrugated-iron sides glistening under the bushveld sun. They are just toilets. Toilets awaiting the dispossession of South Africa.

The parade grounds of toilets are to be found in various parts of Africa — usually the worst parts. They are the places marked out for new townships to accommodate thousands of blacks "resettled" from other, usually more desirable parts of the country.

Under international pressure and with the belated realisation of the insanity of the whole scheme — on practical, if not moral grounds — the "grand apartheid" plan began to disintegrate, at least in the way it was originally envisaged. First, there was the Government's admission that millions of urban blacks were going to have to stay in South Africa and more recently the abandonment of the influx control system, the main mechanism by which "grand apartheid" was enforced. Coupled with a government announcement last year of a suspension of "forced removals", these developments created an impression that the resettlement programme had gone the same way as the recently repealed prohibitions on sex and marriage across the colour line.

The reality is somewhat different. It is a reality which can be found in the bent figure of Mr Ndaba Zungu, a partly crippled farm labourer who was to be found in the city of Pietermaritzburg last week. Mr Zungu, like many of the older rural blacks, was not sure of his age, but we worked it out to be about 60 or 62. He was from a farm near a town in northern Natal called "Weenen," or "place of weeping."

He was born on the farm and has

been living there with his family of 18: his wife, four daughters, four sons, two daughters-in-law and seven grandchildren. The farm is what is known as a "labour farm," which is to say that the crop being farmed is people — workers and their families who are allowed to reside there in return for their labour.

Mr Zungu worked for the farmer on a nearby irrigation scheme, tending vegetables. He would be picked up by a truck in the early hours of Monday morning, spend the week at the vegetable farm, living in a compound, returning at midday on Saturday. For this he was paid R110 (roughly sterling £30) a month. Two of his sons also

worked as labourers and their wives as domestic servants for the farmer. The woman were paid "whatever the farmer felt like paying them" — usually a few Rand. Disaster struck Mr Zungu in February. The two sons working as labourers look off for the bright lights of Durban and Johannesburg. In terms of his deal with the farmer he had to replace them, but only one of his remaining sons was old enough to work. So he was fired and told he had to get off the farm. He had come to Pietermaritzburg, the capital of Natal, looking for help.

The choices now facing Mr Zungu are limited. It is unlikely he will find another farmer to take him on with his family. With the abolition of influx control he can, theoretically, move into a city like Durban, in search of work. But with his family (now 16 strong) and no money to pay rent, he would be reduced to setting up a shanty in one of the township slums and then would face eviction as an illegal squatter. So the only real option open to him is to go where the Government wanted

him in the first place — in his case to KwaZulu, the fiefdom of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Which was the fate of another farm worker, Roger Madonsele.

Mr Madonsele, aged 63, also worked as a tenant labourer, on a farm near the town of Vryheid. He was married with only one child, a son. Then he got a job with a brickworks and his wife, Theresa, aged 64, started working for the farmer as a domestic servant, in return for the right to stay on the land. But Mr Madonsele fell ill with epilepsy and his wife had to get a better paid job, as a house servant in Vryheid, and they were then kicked off the farm. So they landed up in KwaZulu, in a re-

settlement area called Nondweni where they built themselves a two-room mud house.

Mrs Madonsele kept her job on a part-time basis, working three days a week for R8 a day (little more than £2). But to get to Vryheid she had to leave Nondweni at about 4.30 am. It was too much for too little and she gave up in March. Now they live on their own earnings — of R36 a week (£9) as a building worker in Vryheid, where he stays in a hostel.

The labour tenancy system under which Mr Zungu and Mr Madonsele used to work dates to the nineteenth century. Under Nationalist rule concerted efforts were made to abolish it, as economically inefficient as well as on political grounds — that it resulted in "die beswering van die platteland" (blackening of the countryside), as one government commission of inquiry put it.

In the 1960s and 1970s it was outlawed, by regional proclamations, although many farmers con-

tinued to operate it surreptitiously. Abolition of the system itself resulted in mass evictions which are in effect still continuing.

It has been estimated that over one and a half million farm workers have fallen victim to farm evictions, with another million threatened. And they are just one of about 10 categories of "forced removals" (the Government itself insists on describing them as "voluntary").

Other categories include: "group area" removals from one urban area to another, for reasons of ethnic purity (the removal of Coloureds from picturesque Table Mountain, to the wastelands of the Cape Flats is a notorious example); "black spot" removals, of black freehold land owners in "white" regions to areas adjoining homelands, into which they are then "consolidated"; "urban removals" of whole townships outside white towns, into homelands, forcing blacks to become long-distance commuter workers; "ethnic removals" of residents from one homeland to another to satisfy tribal-ethnic distinctions ("unscrambling the egg," as it has been described); "strategic removals," from areas along the borders and coastline; and "infrastructure removals" to make way for dams and roads.

According to the most exhaustive report on forced removals, carried out by the surplus people's project earlier this decade, there had been over three and a half million removals between 1960 and 1982, with another one and three quarter million under threat of removal. Researchers at the University of Stellenbosch recently estimated the number of removals between 1961 and 1986 at four million — 1.3 million of them to KwaZulu.

The significance of those figures is difficult to grasp until one goes up the dusty back roads, little

travelled by white South Africa, where pitiful resettlement villages are to be found. To appreciate the injustice of it all one also needs to travel to the areas from which they were removed like Reserve 6.

Reserve 6 was a small area of the "native reserves" — established under the land acts of 1913 and 1936 — by which some 13 per cent of South Africa was allocated to the majority black population. It is a glorious stretch of verdant land, lying in a sub-tropical belt near Richards Bay, up the coast from Durban. In 1976 the Government — which wanted to develop Richards Bay as a new growth point, as part of its decentralisation policy — moved about 6,000 blacks living in Reserve 6 to a resettlement point at Ntambanana, about 45km inland.

Ntambanana is a drought area, of dry, rugged countryside. A white farmer, who went broke trying to make a living there for 28 years, has said of it: "I know what it is like trying to farm in Ntambanana. It's impossible. It is dry, thorn country with not one permanent running stream in the whole area. The soil is shallow, infertile clay and the main river, the Ensenkel, consists mostly of polluted pools unfit for humans or animals."

Today the contrast is even more dramatic. In what was Reserve 6 there are luxurious white and Indian residential areas, with street names like Geranium Place and Crocus Crescent. I watched a weary-looking black woman pushing an ice-cream cart along the pavements, to be summoned by a little boy who came tumbling over a lush lawn — grandmo padding protectively just behind — to buy himself a cone. In Ntambanana I watched children hie up struggling up the hills carrying plastic containers, and pushing them in wheelbarrows, hunting for water. A small but telling detail was that in an area swarming with children the local shop — the only one for miles — did not stock a single sweet.

The Government has announced a suspension of what it called forced removals — essentially "black spot" removals. But as the tin toilets mutely testify, and the stories of people like Mr Zungu and Madonsele show, the removals go on — even if the various degrees of coercion make it arguable how "forced" they are. But even if it were to be accepted that the "suspension" announced by the Government will prove permanent (which is debatable) and that it and the abolition of influx control signals a winding down of the Vorsterian re-settlement programme (which is doubtful), the Government and white South Africa still bears the responsibility for the millions who have already fallen victim.

When one sees a girl — who could hardly have been in her teens — toiling to raise water with a plastic jug from a hole dug in a dry river bed, it is worth recalling a recent statement by the state president, Mr P. W. Botha. "We are a land of many different groups. Each with a right to protection. Each with a right to share in the prosperity of the greatest nation in Africa."

This article has been written subject to the emergency regulations imposed on the press by the South African Government.

THE GUARDIAN, August 17, 1986

## Communist blueprint for South Africa

LENIN, in his famous address to the young communists of the University of the Peoples of the East, said: "There is no communist book in which you will find all the answers to your problems."

He did not mean that Marxism contains no universal framework. He was insisting that the specific application has to be unendingly elaborated by revolutionaries who combine a grasp of its essence with a profound study of their own concrete situation and their struggle experiences. If, today, the South African Communist Party can look back with pride at its contribution to the struggle, it is precisely because its history, with all its ups and downs, is a reflection of this process. It is a process which did not unfold in a vacuum, and, more especially, it is one which cannot be separated from the emergence and growth of the African National Congress and the relationship which developed between the Communist and national movements.

What explains the special intensity with which the relationship between our two organisations is now being savaged by Botha and his friends? It is partly because even the most pig-headed of our opponents have begun to realise that, sooner or later, they will have to reckon with the ANC which, in the eyes of the greater part of the black population, has little, if any, competition as the alternative power in our land. Since there is no way in which the ANC can be put aside, the only remaining option is to divide it, to change it from within and to blunt the edge of its revolutionary nationalism. The device used is as old as the comic book itself: a crude

of urban blacks expressed themselves in favour of socialism.

In South African conditions you don't have to be a doctrinaire Marxist-Leninist to believe that a liberation which deals only with a rearrangement of the voting system and leaves undisturbed the white race-monopoly of 99 per cent of our major productive resources is no liberation at all. All you have to be is an honest black nationalist to understand that political domination has been the device to protect economic privilege and domination. This perhaps explains why, in our conditions, it has been such a short hop from black nationalism to communism for some of the greatest figures in our national movement.

The main thrust and content of the immediate struggle continues to revolve around the Freedom Charter which provides a minimum platform for uniting all classes and groups for the achievement of a non-racial, united democratic South Africa based on the rule of the majority. Implicit in such a democratic victory will be the immediate need to begin directing the economy in the interests of the people as a whole. This must obviously involve immediate state measures on the land question and against the giant monopoly complexes — which dominate mining, banking and industry. In practice, the question as to which road South Africa will begin to take on the morning after the liberation flag is raised over Union Buildings will be decided by the actual correlation of class forces which have come to power.

But we are not there yet, and the most important task facing us all — communists and non-communists — is to complete this part of the journey.

It is imperative to create the broadest possible front of struggle against the racist autocracy. And a front, by definition, contains disparate forces. The ANC-led liberation alliance, representing the main revolutionary forces, is clearly the key sector of this front. But, particularly in the recent period, the crisis has thrown up a variety of other groupings (including recent defectors from the white league) which favour a far-reaching shift away from apartheid, but which do not necessarily share the ANC's more radical objectives.

At the same time, there must be no ambiguity about the primary place which the ANC occupies and, broadly speaking, the immediate future can only be positively determined under its umbrella. We therefore reject the oft-repeated claim by Botha and some of his Western allies that, in relation to those who represent black aspirations, the ANC is merely one among equals. This is a device designed to weaken the main propellant of the coming transformation so as to ensure that a form of power sharing will be apportioned in a way which will not lead to a real loss of control by those who wield it at the moment.

Even within the narrower confines of what could be described as the main revolutionary force, we should not overlook the fact that it represents an alliance of different classes and strata (overwhelmingly black) which suffer varying degrees of national oppression and economic exploitation. And although they may all subscribe to the slogan of People's Power, they cannot be expected to share exactly the same vision about its content and the future.

Unlike the ANC, which does not and should not commit itself exclusively to the aspirations of a single

What would a black majority government in Pretoria be like? The chairman of the South African Communist Party, who is also head of the military wing of the African National Congress, outlines his thinking. These edited extracts are from a speech he made in London.

direction of economic egalitarianism, and the need to meet people's economic requirements and expectations? We believe that, in the long term, there is harmony between these two imperatives; indeed the one is a necessary condition for the other.

For some while after apartheid falls there will undoubtedly be a mixed economy, implying a role for levels of non-monopoly private enterprise represented not only by the small racially oppressed black business sector but also by managers and business people of goodwill who have or are prepared to shed racism. If the political domination of the old ruling class is ended and the new state apparatus is constructed within the framework envisaged by the Freedom Charter, the existence of a mixed economy "controlled" in the words of the Charter "to assist the well-being of the people," will facilitate rather than hinder the continuing drive towards a socialist future; a drive which, within a truly democratic framework, could well be settled in debate rather than on the streets.

In the meanwhile, mass political

struggle coupled with an intensification of revolutionary violence remains the imperative.

The argument is advanced that a wounded economy will be an obstacle to peaceful reform of the system; a process which they claim will be more assured in conditions of economic stability and growth.

If anything, our experience of the last 20 years proves the exact opposite. In the further alternative, we are also told by those who constructively engage on the side of the regime, that their opposition to real sanctions is motivated by a desire to avoid inflicting suffering on the very blacks whom they wish to help. As we know, the objects of their so-called concern are overwhelmingly in favour of sanctions and, in any case, are heartily sick of being told, yet again, what is good for them by those unable to shed an imperialist mentality. Can there be any doubt that the people whom Reagan and Thatcher would really like to help are the Bothas? Their stance has nothing whatsoever to do with the balance of equating, but everything to do with the balance of profit.

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## The fiction in the middle

PRETORIA'S swift retaliation against the Commonwealth sanctions even before they are applied should not be allowed to divert attention from the real issue, which is its unrelenting assault on the rights of blacks inside the country. Put slightly to one side the flurry of outward and visible measures. Look behind them, inside South Africa. Nothing, not even the state of emergency and what it was imposed to conceal, makes quite such a mockery of Mr Botha's continuing promise of reform as a scrap of land with the invented name of KwaNdebele. This is one of ten reserves totalling 14 per cent of South African territory, set aside as repositories of the political rights of the country's 74 per cent African majority. They have yielded little more substantial than a rich harvest of quotation marks, having been known successively as "bantustans", then "homelands" and now "national states." Four have been given a travesty of "independence" unrecognised by anyone outside (and millions within) South Africa. On December 11, KwaNdebele is to become the fifth to have "independence" thrust upon it. The ten overcrowded enclaves are the keystone to Grand Apartheid. The imminent, induced delivery of KwaNdebele at this highly sensitive stage in South African history

thus proves that the ruling Afrikaner Nationalists are lying in their teeth when they claim apartheid is on its way out — legalised miscegenation and desegregated post offices notwithstanding. The fiction is that KwaNdebele, cobbled together in northern KwaZulu 10 years ago, is the "national state" of the Southern Ndebele tribe. But less than 40 per cent of the residents, often compulsorily shipped there from the townships to live in camps (remember the promise to end forced removals?) are Ndebele, the rest being a hotch-potch from other tribes. There was much local violence early this year when the district of Moutse was forcibly added to it. The area is populated mainly by Pedi tribespeople who ethnically belong to the neighbouring Sotho "national state" of Lebowa. But Lebowa wisely refuses "independence" and Moutse was therefore tossed into the lap of Mr Simon Skosana, the "chief minister" of KwaNdebele, as a reward for "electing independence" on Pretoria's urging. The ensuing political and tribal upheaval has already cost many lives.

The opportunity offered by the enactment of some emergency provisions in the courts (repeatedly and contemptuously overturned by executive action) enabled journalists to take a rare look at KwaNdebele. They reported a

carnival atmosphere, marking the mysterious death in a car-bomb explosion of Mr Piet Ntuli, the "minister of the interior" and driving force of the Skosana puppet government. Seldom seen without pistol, sjambok and private army of bully-boys, the odious Ntuli had become such an embarrassment to Pretoria that its clandestine involvement in his convenient demise was suspected by some, on the grounds that a home-grown Idi Amin nurtured by the whites would not be a good advertisement for separate development. Assuming that the death of its chief torturer does not providentially abort "independence" for the second time (it was adjudged already two years ago), the birth of KwaNdebele will deprive its "citizens" within and without its boundaries, of South African nationality. Mr Botha's undertaking to restore that dubious privilege to "national-state citizens" with long residence in the Republic has been fulfilled in such a miserly and nonvolut way that one would in any case have little confidence in his other promises. But KwaNdebele is a full-blown reversion to the purportedly unmoderated apartheid design of Dr Verwoerd. This cynical piece of hypocrisy is an insurmountable challenge to those who still insist against all reason on believing in Mr Botha's goodwill.

## The hooligan season opens

HERE we go again. Second week of August, second day of second Test match, television screens still cooling down after Mexico, many holidays still to be taken. And we're off. The football hooligan season has opened with a novel variation on the theme, a considerable punch-up on the high seas, on a ferry heading for the Hook of Holland from Harwich. Better than on dry land, all but those responsible for the ferry and the unfortunate non-brawlers among the passengers might say.

It is hard to prevent feelings of weariness dominating those of outrage. There is a dreary inevitability to all of this, only the right-wing MP Mr Peter Bruinvel demanding that the offenders should be bashed seems more predictable than the fact that the fighting itself takes place. Somehow a sizeable number of followers of several different English football teams ended up on the same boat. All of them, it appears, were heading for pre-season "friendlies" in which

Richard Boston, page 3. Report, page 24.

Liverpool, Manchester United, West Ham and Everton are warming up against various continental styles. The only crumb of comfort from this latest outbreak of violence is that the English "supporters" concentrated on beating the hell out of each other rather than saving their energies for European grounds.

It is particularly unfortunate after the Heysel event of 15 months ago that Liverpool followers were on the boat. There was some feeling after a relatively peaceful last domestic season that consideration might soon be given to admitting English clubs to European competition. Clearly that prospect has now disappeared for a long time it must be hoped. We dare not, for the foreseeable future, risk English football supporters following their sides abroad. The ban on playing abroad will presumably now be extended to "friendly" fixtures and should be. We owe it to our continental friends and neighbours to keep the English disease at home.

That is simple, and, and, enough. But now the North Sea events can only be taken as an early warning for the domestic season which begins all too soon. Remember the Downing Street crisis meetings? And the promises made by the football authorities? And Poplewell? Nothing very much has happened, and nothing has changed. Mr Richard Tracey, the sports minister, said that the brawlers were idiots and would "break" football. He's right, but we need more from him than dire repetitions of the obvious.

By Humphrey Hawksley

## Toy soldiers who became military monsters

HUMPHREY HAWKSLEY, Sri Lanka correspondent of *The Guardian* and the BBC, who has been covering the country's ethnic crisis for the past eight months, has been ordered out of the country. The authorities informed him that his residence visa, which expired on August 1, would not be extended and he was told to leave immediately.

FEW countries have undergone such a violent upheaval in the past few years as Sri Lanka, which was once known for its idyllic beaches, but is now more famous for the havoc wrought by its bloody Tamil civil war.

It is not so much the political line of the Sri Lankan government which has blackened the island's reputation. The issues are too complex for that. It is more the consistent stream of atrocities allegedly committed against Tamil civilians by the country's security forces. These have caused an international outcry and have suddenly thrust this Indian Ocean paradise under a microscope more often reserved for militarily-controlled Latin America or tribal Africa.

The behaviour of the Sri Lankan army is one of the many aspects of this complicated crisis, but it is one which will figure prominently dur-

ing any peace negotiations and may simmer as a problem for years to come.

The Tamil separatists are claiming the northern and eastern provinces as their independent homeland. It won't be granted, at least not under the present peace initiative. But both India, the mediator, and President Jayewardene seem determined to succeed in implementing the government's offer of provincial autonomy to the Tamils.

If they do, law and order under the newly-created provincial assemblies would be controlled mainly by a locally-recruited police force, and not, as it is now, by the Sri Lankan army. Although a token force might remain, most of the troops would have to be withdrawn to barracks in the south. If they stayed, there would be no chance of peace. The question would then arise as to how to keep busy thousands of soldiers who have been trained in some of the most sophisticated anti-insurgency techniques and who, only now, are beginning to taste the success of battle.

"We had to learn from scratch and we made a lot of mistakes," said one senior officer. "We are still a long way from being Nato standard, but we are getting better."

The Sri Lankan army was not formed for combat, but for parade ground ceremonies. Even during the second world war, the Allies did not call upon it for any major operations. Its one taste of action before the Tamil war started was against a large, but ill-equipped, band of Communist insurgents in 1971. That rebellion was put down swiftly and brutally, but with foreign help.

An assortment of strange bedfellows has been called upon to help Sri Lanka fight its current insurgency. Israel, China and Britain have supplied patrol boats to guard the coastline. Italy has sold a squadron of six Sikorski light attack aircraft, which caused an outcry when they bombed heavily populated Tamil areas earlier this year. South Africa has shipped over about 30 of its armoured personnel carriers, especially designed to deflect explosions from landmines, which are the most effective weapon of the guerrillas.

More than 20 American Bell helicopters have been bought, through the international arms market in Singapore. Israeli anti-insurgency experts have been used as advisers. Up to 2,000 Sri Lankan troops are being trained in Pakistan at any one time.

A shadowy firm known as Keeney Meeny Services, based in the

Channel Islands, has been training an elite unit of police commandos, the Special Task Force. The firm uses Western mercenaries, many of them former members of the SAS, who are paid between £2,000 and £3,000 a month for their work. No official figures are published on numbers in the armed forces, but there are eight regular battalions with another eight reserve battalions ready to put against up to 5,000 guerrilla fighters. A 4,000-man navy is used to patrol the narrow Palk Straits across which the guerrillas ship arms and men from southern India.

The police number about 20,000, with another 7,000 being recruited by the end of the year. On top of this, there are several other militias. The Ministry of Youth Affairs and Employment is providing military training to several thousand youths in what is called a manpower mobilisation scheme, the 700-men of the mercenary-trained Special Task Force, considered to be the most skilled military unit, is directly responsible to the President's son, Mr Ravil Jayewardene, who acts as a security adviser.

Because of the communal nature of the war, the government forces are recruited very much along communal lines — the men waging the insurgency campaign are Tamils, the soldiers deployed

against them are Sinhalese. In the north, which is nearly all Tamil, the army is considered an army of occupation.

Young Tamil men travelling on routine business say they are terrified when they are called out for identity checks. They are made to stand in line, their hands on their heads. The young Sinhalese soldiers who carry out the checks are also terrified. They could be shot at any moment or blown up by a mortar or landmine.

It is usually after such guerrilla attacks, that the young soldiers, in a mixture of anger, panic, or simply cold-blooded communal revenge, murder innocent people. The government has often ordered top-level investigations into alleged massacres, but the results have never been made public. No soldier has been court-martialled for his part in an atrocity, but about 300 have been dismissed.

In 1981, two regiments were disbanded because of mutinous rumblings among the men. There are reports of such rumblings now.

"In the few years since the crisis really heated up," said one retired officer, "we have created a monster in our security forces. It is a necessary monster because we have to fight terrorism. But we have to control it when Lanka eventually returns to peace."

# Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

## Berlin wall no deterrent to far-flung refugees

By Henri de Bresson

BONN — As a curtain-raiser to the campaign for the legislative elections due in January 1987, West Germany's conservative parties are trying to dispell the summer doldrums by reactivating their clamour to tighten up the country's laws governing the granting of asylum.

They have been handed a peg to hang their campaign on by the number of refugees demanding asylum in West Germany, a number which has appreciably increased during this holiday period.

The record for the largest number of entries in a single month — 9,178 — which was reached last year in August, was beaten this year in July (9,710). The statistics for the first few months of the year seem to indicate that 1985's total of 73,000 refugees will be exceeded this year, though it still falls far short of the absolute record of 107,818 posted in 1980.

The problem of people seeking political asylum, which has acquired a larger dimension in the past two years, is not peculiar to the Federal Republic. As a result of measures taken more or less everywhere else in Europe to curb immigration, it is tempting for professional rings engaged in channelling immigrants to exploit the loopholes in European laws. West Germany, along with the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands, has been an especially favoured target.

With a few rare exceptions, a person presenting himself at the country's border and demanding asylum cannot in fact be sent away before his case has been examined

by the relevant federal office, whose findings can be legally challenged. It is not unusual therefore for repatriation procedures to drag on for years.

The West German authorities put these refugees into three broad categories — people whose political motives are recognised; people who, even without obtaining certification as refugees, are tolerated out of principle (like Eastern bloc nationals) or because of doubts concerning their situation in their countries of origin (Iran, Afghan-

istan); and finally, people who are regarded quite simply as economic refugees, especially those coming from Turkey, Ghana and the Indian sub-continent. The distinction between the last two groups, however, is often blurred, as is shown by the case of Sri Lankans and Lebanese. This is what is fuelling the controversy between the champions and opponents of any modification of the system.

For many years now, West German governments have been tempted to get around the problem by tightening up conditions for obtaining visas or by requiring airlines not to sell tickets without such visas. But here they come up against rings specialising in get-

ting people into Western Europe, such as those operating out of the Indian sub-continent and Turkey, and they are becoming increasingly better organised. Finally, there is the longstanding problem of Berlin through which roughly half these people transit. Recent weeks have seen a sharpening in the dispute between the German Federal Republic and the German Democratic Republic, which is accused of encouraging this situation.

East Germany will not attempt to stem the flow of Third World refugees entering West Berlin despite appeals from ranking West German officials, the State-run ADN news agency said. "There is no reason for East Germany, as a transit land, to refuse the right of transit to foreigners merely because they want to go to West Berlin," ADN said. The French, Great Britain and the United States have already protested to the USSR, the fourth Power guaranteeing the status of Berlin, over the large number of people transiting westwards through East Berlin in search of asylum.

Threats that conservative West German political circles have been making against the GDR in recent weeks — like the threat to review credits or the special trading agreements between the two Germanies — have fallen on deaf ears. As a matter of fact, such action could cut both ways; and nobody in the government could seriously consider jeopardising the sacrosanct inter-German relations because of refugees. In an interview that the daily Die Welt published on August 8, Chancellor Helmut Kohl indicated that Bonn would stand by the existing agreement, but added that "further progress in relations is naturally more difficult so long as the GDR

cooperates with the flow of asylum-seekers."

The controversy has above all helped to dramatise the internal debate on the need to revise the procedure for accepting political refugees in West Germany. Long a champion of tighter immigration controls, Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann (Christian Social Union) has so far never succeeded in overriding FDP reservations and imposing his views. In a highly inflammatory document published in the Bavarian Christian Social Party's official publication *Bayernkurier*, Zimmermann said that the present situation opened the door to "millions" of refugees into the Federal Republic. Reviving the debate on amending the Constitution, he considered that its vagueness was tantamount to giving "each of the 5,000 million human beings on the earth the right to stay on West German territory, at least temporarily."

Determined to exploit the situation and turn it into a major campaign issue in the coming elections, the CSU has partly succeeded in recent weeks in getting Chancellor Kohl's Christian Democratic Party leadership to tilt towards it. Wolfgang Schauble, minister of state at the Chancellor's office, declared his support for amending the Constitution. However, this is tricky ground for the coalition. In June the Free Democrats went along with a tightening up of the procedure for processing demands for asylum, but the vast majority of them are not prepared to call into question a right they consider fundamental.

(August 10/11)

## Signs of weariness among ETA's terrorist leaders

BILBAO — How difficult it is to please both God and Caesar south of the Pyrenees. Once again France is having to learn that bitter truth. Reviled yesterday in Madrid and showered with praise in Bilbao, here it is now showered with praise in Madrid and reviled in Bilbao. While all the political parties in Madrid unreservedly applaud France's tough attitude towards ETA and its sympathisers, in Spain's Basque country on the other hand nationalists — avowed moderate ones — are protesting or dissociating themselves from Madrid. In one month some 30 cars with French registration plates have been set on fire by a mysterious "Refugee Aid Committee".

So here is France once again dragged into a quarrel which has nothing to do with it, a controversy which is in fact Spanish or, to be more precise, Basque-Spanish. Bilbao's political forces are, in fact, using the dispute over France's new attitude towards ETA to air their own disputes. Is there a purely police solution to the Basque problem? Or should there be negotiations with ETA? Is the autonomous charter that the region has been given sufficient to socially isolate the most belligerent nationalists? These in fact are the real issues of the debate which has been steadily splitting the Basque country for the past ten years, but which has now flared up, via France, more virulently than ever.

Nobody is surprised that ETA sympathisers inveigh against France's new policy. "The French

and Spanish States, with their hysterical anti-ETA obsession, are giving off a maddening repressive etch," wrote the radical daily Egin, which is widely read in the Basque country and not only by the "fanatics" of the armed struggle. That these same circles consider Paris and Madrid will not crush ETA in this way will come as no surprise either. The leaders of the Herri Batasuna coalition, which is close to ETA, and whose share of the vote rose to ten per cent at the last elections, are sure of this and ask: "How is Madrid going to explain to public opinion that ETA is bringing off its most audacious coup in the capital while France has supposedly neutralised its principal leaders? How is it going to explain that the Socialists are losing votes in the Basque country and Herri Batasuna is gaining them, while they make out that ETA is more and more isolated?"

What the Socialists in Madrid hardly expected to see was the PNV (Basque Nationalist Party), which commands majority support in the region, and the autonomous Basque government of Victoria which it controls, also backing away abruptly from them. José Antonio Ardanza, the president of the Basque government, has openly expressed his "skepticism" about the "repressive line" and published a communique asserting his intention "never to rule out recourse to dialogue and negotiation."

"The Socialists think the French measures will be enough to break up ETA," says Jesus Irujo, a

president of the Vizcaya province PNV. "But it is not by creating martyrs in the eyes of some members of the public that you're going to isolate ETA socially. If you don't understand that you fail to understand what's happening here. We maintain what we have always been saying: a political problem means a political solution and a political solution means negotiation."

Negotiating with ETA: that's the bone of contention. The PNV has been calling for such negotia-

By Thierry Malinlaik

tions even more strongly since the last elections which saw the radicals increase their share of the vote at the expense of the moderates in the "big nationalist family". In addition, the internal crisis in the party with a "critical" sector inclined to go even further in its anti-Socialist line can only prompt the PNV to stand publicly aloof from Madrid. Especially as the "critics" are only saying out loud what many in the party are secretly thinking when they blurt out point out "No nationalist will ever be happy to see a Basque, whatever he is, turned over to the Spanish State police."

But electoral competition from the Herri Batasuna, and dissent from party "critics" cannot explain why the PNV is pressing so insistently, if not for negotiations, at least to talk to supporters of the armed struggle. The time is considered right. Many in Bilbao,

even among them ETA sympathisers, who feel tiredness is beginning to show in ETA's ranks, and that some of its leaders are asking themselves whether they should not break out of the stalemate and have one with this endless and absurd succession of killings.

Given this situation, should the government agree to talk to facilitate a shift away from violence or rather should it really force ETA to surrender unconditionally? This is the question on which Socialists and Basque nationalists cannot agree today. The thumbs-down that Madrid gave the discreet offer of negotiations made by the ETA leader Txomin (who was expelled recently to Gabon by France) has finally convinced the PNV that the Spanish Socialists are definitely banking on bringing the Basque organisation to its knees.

Nor are the Socialists denying this. Ricardo Garcia Damborenea, secretary-general of the Socialist Party in Vizcaya province, says as outright: "The social rehabilitation of terrorists not involved in blood crimes is as far as our political offer goes..."

If the PNV is arguing for negotiations, it is because it hopes they will help it obtain compensations from Madrid on the question of autonomy. It's the old ambiguity: the nationalists condemn terrorism, but hope to take advantage of it.

But the fact is, in the final analysis, the PNV's "ambiguity" still seems to mirror that of a substantial segment of the Basque

population in this region where the exclusive attachment to its own interests hardly appears to have been weakened eight years after the approval of the Guernica charter granting autonomy to the Basques, the result of a "historic agreement" between the Madrid government and the PNV. More and more nationalist voices are being heard today in Bilbao and Victoria calling for the agreement to be reviewed.

Those who champion this viewpoint say that the artificial extension throughout Spain of the system of granting autonomy has resulted in levelling down the powers of the two "historic nationalities", the Basque country and Catalonia, the only ones where autonomy really made sense. Why not, they ask, conclude another agreement with Madrid which, while staying within the limits set by the Constitution, would take better cognisance of the individuality of the Basques and Catalans and enable the Basque problem to be settled once and for all.

In Madrid, though, all this is dismissed as irrelevant to the struggle against ETA. Nothing is less certain, retort the nationalists who feel that the degree of autonomy and the elimination of violence always go hand in hand in the Basque country. Behind the controversy over the French attitude towards people pandering to ETA, it is indeed the whole future of this region that is once again being debated in Bilbao.

(August 10/11)

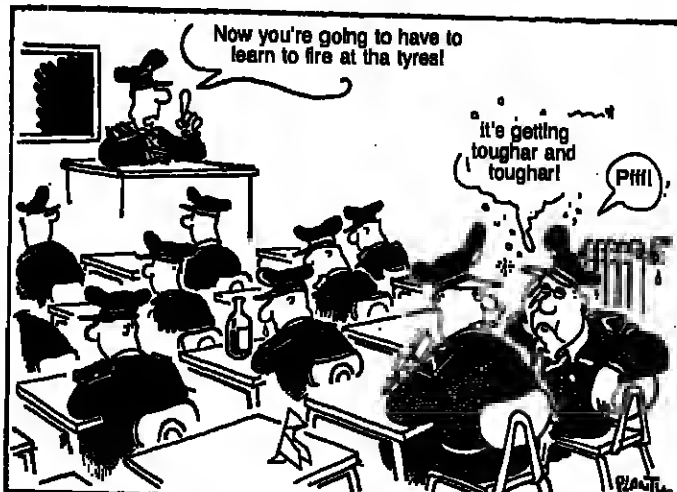


The circumstances in which a 24-year-old motorcyclist, William Normand, met his death in the Paris suburb of Fontenay-sous-Bois continue to fuel controversy. The reconstruction of the incident on Tuesday evening last week at the very spot it took place in no way helped to clear things up. Henri Geraud, the lawyer defending the 23-year-old policeman who shot the motorcyclist in the back, now claims there is a case for a plea of "justifiable subjective self-defence". The lawyer retained by the dead man's family, Francis Terquem, commented: "I don't understand this idea of justifiable subjective self-defence. What I do know is that William is

objectively dead." One of the more disturbing allegations made in the case — that the policeman walked up to the dying motorcyclist and sprayed him with tear gas — was not enacted during the reconstruction. After the reconstruction, the policeman, Eric Laignel, was set free under judicial control. Coming a mere three weeks after the incident on the Rue de Mogador in which another young man — this time driving a small car — was killed by a riot policeman, who is also pleading justifiable self-defence, this new incident has touched off a wide-ranging debate on what are called police bavures "slip-ups".

## Pasqua gave police 'carte blanche'

By André Fontaine



Drawing by Plantu

SO HERE we have a policeman romanced for a "slip-up". Let's say, he is paying for others. His confusion when he saw the body of the young man he shot at says enough in fact to show that, as the charge puts it, he "did not intend to cause death." His arrest was nonetheless necessary considering how the mood has deteriorated lately and it is important to change this as quickly as possible.

What is serious in this state of affairs is the far-too-widespread tendency to jump to conclusions without knowing the facts. Here in France a person is presumed to be innocent — until proven guilty. Charles Pasqua (Interior Minister) was right to demand that no exceptions be made in the case of policemen. But we are entitled to demand that no exceptions be made either for their victims. Now in the Rue de Mogador case as in the Fontenay-sous-Bois incident, the police's first reaction was to make the dead men out to be scoundrels. Even if this was indeed the case it was no excuse at all. Unless the idea was to justify the claim made by SOS Racism — and it is quite preposterous until proved otherwise — that the death penalty has in practice been restored... and without trial.

People being what they are, we cannot unfortunately rule out the hypothesis of X or Y, policemen by profession, killing for the sake of killing or, if you like, to set an example, as people say. It is obvious, though, that in the vast majority of regrettable slip-ups, the immediate cause is to be sought not in intentions but in nervousness.

The nervousness is understandable, and those who are quick to routinely inveigh against the police because they are, so to speak, allergic to them should sometimes take the trouble to put themselves in their place. Contrary to the widely held belief and without going back to the centuries when, as Jean Delmasau has shown so well, fear was present everywhere, insecurity has diminished considerably today. But it is precisely because it has become relatively rare that we find it harder to reconcile ourselves to it.

Formerly, insecurity was to be part and parcel of everyday living. Today, in a Western world which believes it has averted the inevitability of wars and developed a vast system of protection against most risks, the risk of violence

seems quite unacceptable. We find it hard to believe that half a century ago Mussolini was wildly cheered when he called on his fellow Italians to "live dangerously". Today security is on the lips of everybody from Gorbachev to Reagan, from Le Pen to Marchais.

The unfortunate fact remains, however, that unemployment has left many people, especially the young, without money and facing desperately empty days. Whence the overpowering urge to succumb to the violence that television lavishly offers them. And on top of this, terrorists coming in from the heat, when they are not quite simply home-grown, see no special reason for leaving France out of the sphere of their deadly activities. The conclusion is that the security which we all so cherish needs to be defended. And people have to take the risk putting their own security on the line in order to guarantee ours.

These people are entitled to expect a minimum of understanding from those who take few or no risks. But all too often policemen find themselves caught between the segment of the public which blames them for doing too much and another which would like them to do more, squeezed between those who are instinctively inclined to see them as "fascists" and racists, and others who, prompted by opposite reactions, imagine that a bigger show of force would quickly eliminate all forms of crime. At any rate, many policemen feel they would get a better deal from the public if the press talked less about their slip-ups and more about the price — ultimately very steep — they are paying for preserving law and order.

Obviously this is what prompted Charles Pasqua, the moment he moved into the Interior Ministry, to practically give an undertaking to cover his troops. He must realise today that they were particularly unwise words, considering that the instinctive reflexes of some people lead them to interpret this as an invitation to lash out. Now the fear of brutal treatment at the hands of the police has every chance of prodding offenders either to run away and risk being shot in the back, or shoot first. This can only widen the longstanding gulf between those who favour law and order and those who prefer justice, even if the contemplation of justice is "the pleasure of God alone", as Rimbaud put it so well.

la this area as in many others, there is no stock recipe, no "you've-only-got-to-do-this" formula, only the need of every moment to reconcile exigencies which are less irreconcilable than they may appear at first sight. For if there is no real justice without a modicum of realism, there is no true realism either without a modicum of justice.

It is of course primarily a question of the quality of men. Many policemen do their job well or very well and yet nobody talks about them. The ideal would be for all policemen to act like Patrick Cascales, who was attacked when he tried to arrest a man trying to steal from a parked car; the man drew a knife on him and Cascales fired a shot in the air, then the pistol-whipped his attacker into submission. Or the Blois gendarme who fired a burst into the ground from their machine pistols and put an end to the exploits of an unbalanced youth armed with a shotgun. Or the GIGN (special brigade) policemen who overpowered a madman on the Ile de Ré who had been taking pot shots at tourists for a couple of weeks.

Not everybody is as cool-headed or has the same reactions, or even the same luck. Just last Saturday, at Saint-Etienne-du-Rouvray, a policeman was shot and seriously injured when checking out a car by a strange sort of security guard. And the carelessness of a motorist who abandoned his broken down car on a highway resulted in the death of a gendarme trying to direct the traffic away. The fact remains that the quality of the training and the leadership count for much in the behaviour of men. There is also the fact that the former Interior Minister, a Socialist, certainly made a mistake by generously distributing battle weapons to the police. The fact that three weeks ago in the Paris metro a 21-year-old trainee policewoman shot and killed not only her attacker, but also a passer-by justifies re-examining the issue.

In any case, let us beware of not allowing the controversy to become politicised. It would be disastrous for national unity if the "left" became the party of weakness in the right's eyes, and the right the party of "cops" in the left's view. Thank heavens, the Justice Minister at least appears to have understood this well.

(August 5)

## Minister and the 'wagonloads of dirty money'

MICHEL JEOL, public prosecutor attached to the Paris court, has signed a petition asking the criminal division of the Court of Cassation to appoint a judge to examine the case concerning the fraudulent invoices alleged to have been made out by a Beaurepaire (lebre) printer at the request of former Minister of Cooperation Christian Nucci. It is Nucci's position as mayor of Beaurepaire that prompted the Paris Public Prosecutor's office to take this measure as Nucci "is liable to be charged with an offence" within the meaning of Article 687 of the Penal Code. (The former minister, who said he is going on holiday, has since said he is quite satisfied with the judicial procedure and that he has no intention of resigning either as mayor or Deputy.)

Daniel Ronjat, the Beaurepaire printer who was charged on July 23 with breach of trust and falsifying private or business documents, implicated Nucci by alleging it was on the latter's instructions that he made out the invoices for work which did not match any services actually provided.

These developments, which are

By Daniel Schneidermann

peripheral to the case concerning the management of the public funds entrusted to the Carrefour du Développement association, are nevertheless related to the instances of misappropriation of public monies through financial "laundering". It is therefore up to the Court of Cassation, which "will give its finding within a week or so of the petition being received", to set out the limits of any future judicial inquiry. Logically, the case should be turned over to Jean-Pierre Michau, the magistrate who has been investigating the Carrefour du Développement case since May.

All the Socialist Deputies who last weekend went to visit their constituents in their constituencies have returned carrying the same message. And the message is clear: enough is enough. The Socialist Party could have pardoned Christian Nucci, who was one of its most colourful ministers and is a great talker, for many things; such as his fondness for good company, his incredible clumsiness, and the pathetically clumsy way in which he is defending himself. But if there is one sin that is unpardonable in the eyes of a grassroots Socialist activist, it is paying party subscriptions out of public funds.

"For a militant, that's the worst thing," said Michel Sapin (PS, Hauts-de-Seine). "In a highly agitational party like ours this is something activists are not at all likely to understand," added Louis Mexandreu, former minister of Posts and Telecommunications. "A very, very dim view is taken of this at the grassroots level," confirmed Philippe Marchand (PS, Charente-Maritime).

While this is so, the more charitable Socialists are trying to find excuses for the former minister. "I think it's an organisational defect in his private office," opined Roland Dumas, former Foreign

Minister, who drew one expert conclusion from the case: "Proof has now been provided that one must do a better job of locking up one's private office." Mexandreu went even further and wondered whether Nucci had not been drawn into a trap. "Couldn't this Chatter (lebre) Yves Chatter, former head of Nucci's private office, have been talking freely about the case and implicating his former head from Paraguay where he is hiding out from an arrest warrant issued in France) have been infiltrated into his office by someone?" And François Loncle (PS, Eure) expressed his surprise at "how little justice seems anxious to summons M. Chatter."

Nobody for the moment wants to speculate on the penalties likely to be meted to the former minister. "Let justice follow its course," said Jean-Pierre Sueur (PS, Loiret) curtly. Caught off-guard by the announcement that the Paris Public Prosecutor's Office was taking "protective measures" in connection with Nucci, Socialist Deputies have been trying to canvass the legal opinions of the more learned among them. One Deputy explained leniently before TV cameras that the procedure consisted

"in fact of appointing a judge who will hear Christian Nucci as a witness." Off-camera however he admitted later: "Jéol is not a man to take a decision of this sort lightly." In short, it is more than probable that Nucci will be charged.

Said another Deputy: "Some of our ministers reacted to power like moths crazed by light. They behaved like the new rich, while the politicians of the right are the old rich and know how to go about things discreetly. And the Cooperation Minister was in one of the most vulnerable positions. In more than any other ministry, here he saw passing before his eyes 'whole wagonloads of dirty money' every day. Dirty for a good cause, of course, but a secret one all the same. Then came a moment when told himself: 'Why shouldn't I? And that was it.'"

(August 7)

### Tyndall-Guardian Funds Prices

Prices as at 1 August, 1986

|                     |          |
|---------------------|----------|
| North American Fund | \$23.74  |
| Money Fund          | \$26.99  |
| Overseas Fund       | \$17.52  |
| Pacific Fund        | Yen 3005 |
| Well Street Fund    | \$34.81  |
| Mortgage Fund       | C\$10.46 |
| Commodity Fund      | \$29.77  |
| Eurobond Fund       | \$22.20  |
| Gold Fund           | \$5.90   |

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ONCE it touched down on the runway at Abidjan airport, the spoolless white-painted Boeing carrying neither registration marks nor national flag taxied across the tarmac past the airport buildings and came to a halt in an area out of public gaze and guarded by a "cordon sanitaire" of policemen. The same sort of thing happens in the Gabonese capital of Libreville, at Kinshasa airport in Zaïre, Beogul in Central Africa, Nairobi in Kenya and Mogadishu in Somalia. While these mystery planes do not pick up passengers and their movements are not announced, they do in fact belong to South African Airways (SAA), Pretoria's national carrier.

When the world conferences on apartheid took place in Paris in June this year, Senegalese President Abdou Diouf made the point that where trade with Pretoria was concerned African countries were not "all halleluiahs". In August 1984, South Africa's Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Louis Nel, put it more bluntly: "All but four African states trade with South Africa." However, there are no statistics and no proof has ever been produced of this secret trade between the land of apartheid and African states to the north.

There is little point recalling all the sanctimonious anti-apartheid declarations made by so many African presidents while busily conducting profitable trade with the "racist regime". African states have always observed a sort of implied agreement not to point the finger at "guilty" neighbours for fear of attracting public condemnation from the continent's clean consciences. Then, oddly enough, things began to change during Diouf's presidency of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). At the last OAU summit, several speakers lashed out at African hypocrisy in raising a hue and cry against the refusal of some Western countries to impose trade sanctions against Pretoria while many African states are themselves cashing in on trade with South Africa. Congo's President Sassou Nguesso, the OAU's current president, called on Africans to "put your own houses in order" by breaking off "overt or covert" relations with South Africa.

The OAU could of course begin by setting the example itself by publishing the list of African capitals accommodating South African Airways flights. That list

Despite their condemnations of apartheid, and particularly of Britain's refusal to go along with the rest of the Commonwealth in adopting far reaching economic sanctions, most African states continue to trade more or less secretly with South Africa.

Laurent Zecchini reports

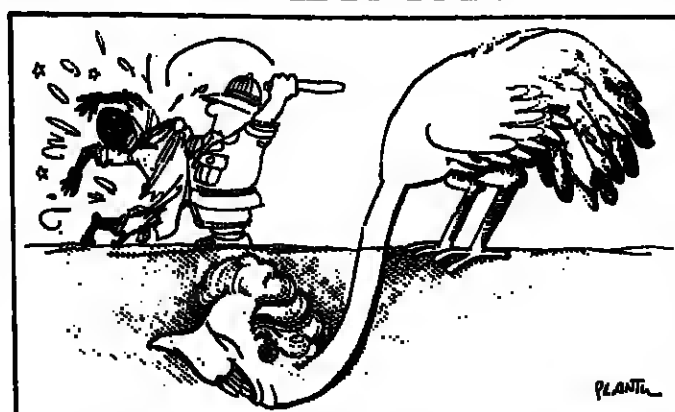
Drawing by Plantu

## African trade with Pretoria

was presented at the last meeting of OAU foreign ministers and has since been "classified". Similarly, Gabonese President Omar Boogo, who said in Addis Ababa that he supported the Nigerian proposal to withhold landing rights throughout the African continent from all planes flying to or from South Africa and even added: "I'd say 'well done' and applaud it for Gabon has (given) none", ought to have been a bit more discreet. Apart from the "mystery" planes landing at Libreville, South Africa's Chesterfield company is building jointly with France at Lecom in southeastern Gabon, less than 100 kilometres from Bongo's own home town of Franceville, a long strip capable of accommodating heavy transport planes. But, of course, it is true that with the good offices of the SDECE (now DGE — the French intelligence service) at Libreville, Gabon has long enjoyed relations with South Africa.

SAA, which in theory is not allowed to overfly African countries, today stops off at Sal in the Cape Verde island of the same name at the northeastern end of the archipelago. The Amicar Cabral international airport brings the State of Cape Verde a good percentage of its foreign earnings in the form of transit fees. Its capital Praia also serves as a venue for secret contacts between the Angolan government and South Africa.

Cape Verde, Zaïre and the Ivory Coast are the only countries which have open political contacts with South Africa. Ivory Coast Pres-



Drawing by Plantu

dent Félix Houphouët-Boigny has turned himself into the promoter of "dialogue" with Pretoria — the handshake at Yamoussoukro in September 1974 between the "Old Man" and Johannes Vorster, the then South African Prime Minister, is still famous. Where Zaïre is concerned, the South Africans have no hesitation in pointing out that 57 per cent of the country's imports go through South African ports, as do 45 per cent of Zaïrean exports of copper (which account for 85 per cent of the country's export earnings), tin and zinc (80 per cent) and cobalt (40 per cent).

Since the Benguela railway line which goes right across Angola and up to the port of Lobito has been cut because of the guerrilla campaign led by UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola), Zaïre's main resources which come from its mineral-rich region of Shaba are at South Africa's mercy. Zaïre is the world's biggest diamond producer. On August 10, 1985 it renewed a two-year contract with Britmond, a firm marketing practically the entire Zaïrean output. Britmond is a subsidiary of the South African firm of De Beers (Anglo-American group) which itself markets 80 per cent of the world's diamond output.

In the Republic of Central Africa, it is again South Africans who handle the marketing of a substantial part of the country's output of diamonds (at least the diamonds which are not smuggled out before they are cut and polished in Belgium (Antwerp) and Israel. The Angolan firm of Diamang was disbanded on July 20 and replaced

by another company which will exclude any foreign (especially South African) participation.

In 1971, Kamuzu Banda, President of Malawi — it is the only African country to have diplomatic relations with Pretoria, relations that go back to 1966 — while on an official visit to South Africa criticised "those who piously vote resolutions against Pretoria when their stomachs are full of South African meat." He was not entirely wrong. Meat is among the foodstuffs that South African planes keep bringing in. The South Africans have set up a huge cattle-breeding ranch in the vast cattle-Malawi and Mount Piko in Equatorial Guinea. South African products can be found on the market in most big African cities like Brazzaville, Dakar, Douala, Lagos, Lomé and Kampala. Until quite recently the products were labelled "Made in South Africa" and "Cope Fruit" was considered a guarantee of quality. As a result of the international campaign against Outspan oranges and lemons, South African products have become harder to spot.

No State can guard itself against the sale of South African goods on its territory. The large numbers of importers, corrupt customs officials, fraud and wide-open borders do not permit enforcing a strict boycott. In addition, the Pretoria government has set up real trade lobbies using Asians (East African Indians) who, as they control trade in Kenya and Mauritius for example, import South African goods. In December 1984, South African Foreign Minister "Pik" Botha

## Who will feel the bite of sanctions on South Africa?

THE PERSIAN GULF of strategic minerals" is the favoured phrase currently applied to South Africa in world capitals from Washington to Tokyo, Bonn, London and Paris. The Western world's leaders have long been impressed by the treasures hidden in the Transvaal's soil to the point of frequently representing their slight inclinations to impose sanctions on the apartheid regime. Sitting on more than 80 per cent of the world's reserves of chrome, manganese, platinum and other platinumoids (like rhodium) and more than half the gold reserves, South Africa has for many years enjoyed a sort of political immunity closely bound up with its situation as an economic partner that developed countries cannot do without.

South Africa has tagged all, or nearly all, of the metal ores it possesses as "strategic". A designation stemming from their indispensability to military and civilian industry (steel making, cars, aviation) and their relative rarity, as well as from their extreme geographic concentration in potentially hostile or unstable states. Western states, consequently, have become doubly cautious when they realised their dependence on South Africa and — the Soviet Union.

That dependence is 100 per cent for manganese and platinum. Is there anyone who hasn't ever feared that a "war of resources" might break out one day somewhere along this Pretoria-Moscow line? But measuring the West's vulnerability by the sole yardstick of South Africa's reserves is tantamount to neglecting the speed of technological advances which in the early '80s permitted the countries of the North to reduce their dependence on strategic materials. What prodigious Western countries have methodically looking for ways and means of making sure of their "sensitive" supplies was not so much the fear of future embargoes as soaring raw material prices in the wake of dearer oil. The trend picked up momentum when cobalt prices shot up in 1978 as a result of disturbances in Shaba province (Zaïre) and the Soviets decided in 1979 to drop out of the market for uranium, used in building a new generation of nuclear submarines. Recovering and recycling waste and using substitutes have today taken the place of mined materials.

In the event of drastic economic sanctions being taken against South Africa, who will be hardest hit? Western countries or Pretoria?

France imported only 15 per cent of its platinum requirements from South Africa. On the other hand, over half the national consumption was met by recycling catalytic wire gauze. As for gold, a sudden scarcity would probably bring the metal out of private hiding places just the way the family silver went on the market when the Hunt brothers attempted to corner the silver bullion market in 1980.

Long considered to be irreplaceable, chrome has also been demythologised in the laboratory.

By Eric Fottorino

Says Philippa Beuth of the raw materials department of AFME (Agence Française pour la Matière de l'Énergie): "Sixty per cent of the consumption in France (25 per cent in the short term) can be substituted in case of necessity." Recent work undertaken by Usinor and Creusot-Loire shows that, in case of a shortage, eliminating manganese from certain stainless steels in general use would have "no unfavourable effect on the main properties of these steels." The special relationship

France has with Gabon, through two-way participation by the French firm of Paris-Outreau and the Gabonese corporation COMILOG, producing manganese leasene. France's vulnerability where the element is concerned. An AFME study has shown it is possible to set up a European system for producing vanadium, but in the meantime France's basic requirements are supplied from Finland, far ahead of South Africa.

Ridding itself of its dependency on South Africa is even a major concern of the United States. Texas Gulf has opened a unit for recovering platinum from catalytic crucibles, while the Department of Energy, NASA and the big automobile firms are working on developing new ceramics to replace the special steels containing "sensitive" metals that go into motor manufacture. "The United States has nothing to fear if South Africa threatens to cut off its exports of strategic ores and metals," said Joel Clark, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology expert in 1985.

In a report submitted to the Congress in January 1985, the Bureau of Technological Research

went on a quiet swing through East Africa. While his visit to Somalia was confirmed, none of his other destinations was made public. The Kenyan authorities, for example, denied he visited their country. In Somalia, it was Fatah Vica-President General Ali Mohammed Samantar who conducted the secret trade and military negotiations with Pretoria. In May 1984, he had visited South Africa. On the other hand, "Pik" Botha's December 21-23 visit to the Comoros did not go unnoticed. Arriving at Moroni in a Mystère-60 without identification markings, he was seen several times in the company of the well-known mercenary Bob Denard, alias Mustapha M'adjidiu, head of President Abdallah's household guard, which is sponsored by none other than South Africa. Denard, who has long had close relations with the Gabonese presidency, spends his time between Pretoria and Moroni, and several mercenaries under him work sent to South Africa in 1984 for paramilitary training.

Although its relations with Pretoria are not as intense, the Seychelles too is no less dependent on South Africa for its trade and also because of the importance for its budget of the money earned from hundreds of South African tourists visiting the country every year. Often South Africa holds a veritable fascination for African people. Some years ago, for example, Ghana had a hard time trying to prevent some of its nationals from emigrating to South Africa in search of work, especially in the Transkei Bantustan.

These economic and political ties between African states and Pretoria are above all indicative of the breakdown in attempts to promote intra-African trade. If such trade represents only 5 per cent of the total commerce, principally because of the complete absence of means of communication on the continent, the dynamism of South African industry and its low production costs. African states consequently have every reason for continuing to trade with the "enemy" despite the country's sanctions. It was General Hashim Mbitia, the executive secretary of OAU's liberation committee, who put the situation in a nutshell at the last Addis Ababa conference: "Charity begins at home." (August 5)

showed to what extent the South African stranglehold could be broken. It is true the United States imports chrome, cobalt, manganese and platinum to the value of \$1,000 million every year. But one-third of its chrome requirements could be reduced in the short term and another third at a cost of ten years of research and development.

Substitutable to a very great extent and fairly widely distributed (Zaïre, Canada, Philippines), cobalt has lost its sensitive rating on either side of the Atlantic, even if it still ranks high in the US stockpile. Experts predict that manganese imports could drop by 45 per cent between now and the year 2000 as a result of improvements in steel manufacturing processes.

All these are defensive measures likely to limit Western dependence on Pretoria over the short term. Over the medium and longer term, on the other hand, it is certain that a sustained embargo on these products could once again become critical.

But such a hypothesis is hardly sustainable, pointed out Clark last year. "The organisation of the South Bureau of Technological Research

Continued on page 14



THE COMMONEST banknote in Haiti is the five gourde bill, which bears the portrait of Jean-Claude Duvalier, the country's former President-for-Life. Underneath, there are words to the effect that the Bill can be exchanged by the bearer for United States currency at the rate of five gourdes per dollar. There follows the name of the printers of the banknote, a Munich-based firm.

Such unashamed alienation is rare in Third World countries, which tend to conceal their dependence behind the facade of touchy nationalism. The Duvalier regime's blithe impudence did not trouble itself with such niceties.

When Francis Girod and his team of 60 or so actors and technicians went to Haiti to shoot "Descente aux Enfers", the country had only just emerged from 29 years of dictatorship. From April to June, they were caught up in the unpredictable aftermath of Haiti's liberation, when an angry population made a determined bid to take revenge on Duvalier's henchmen.

"Descente aux Enfers" is a big-budget movie, and financial backing was difficult to find. But its producer Ariel Zeitoun (responsible for "Coup de Foudre" and "Souvenirs, Souvenirs") clearly believes in Sergio Leone's somewhat Dalphic notion that "a movie should only cost what it costs." In other words, if a film's budget is trimmed too heavily, its artistic worth can suffer.

The movie tells a straightforward story and owes much of its interest to its extraordinary setting. Haiti. Both Zeitoun and Girod related suggestions that the film should be shot in a more accessible place, such as Corsica or even in studios near Paris.

Zeitoun has a single co-producer, La 5 (France's fifth television channel), which chipped in with six million francs (about \$570,000), and has raised a further 8 million francs (about \$760,000) from other sources. Zeitoun's own contribution, in the form of credits and direct financing, amounts to 11 million francs (about \$1,050,000).

The ingredients of David Goodie's novel, "Descent to Hell", which is set in Jamaica, include a stormy relationship between an alcoholic and his frigid wife, a murder, and a wrongful arrest. What counts is not so much the plot, which is slender, but the atmosphere of decadence, incomprehension and tropical clamminess.

Francis Girod, whose previous films include "Le Trio Infernal", "La Bague", "Le Bon Plaisir", and "L'Etat Sauvage", has always been attracted by books with an equivocal atmosphere. In collaboration with scriptwriter Jean-Loup Dabadie, who now seems to have emerged from his romantic period and adopted a new thriller genre, Girod completely transposed the story and made the central female character much younger.

Alain, a writer in his fifties, and his very young wife, Lola, go to Haiti to try and understand each

The French film director Francis Girod recently completed the filming of "Descente aux Enfers" in Haiti, a country that is only just beginning to get back on its feet after a 29-year dictatorship under the Duvalier dynasty. The film, which was adapted by Jean-Loup Dabadie from a novel by David Goodie, stars Claude Brasseur and Sophie Marceau. Olivier Barrot reports on the film-makers' experiences in the Caribbean island.



Claude Brasseur, Sotigi Kuyote and Francis Girod filming "Descente aux Enfers".

## Glimpse of hell in Haiti

other. The blood that is shed, the violent acts that are committed, somehow point the way to a possible reconciliation between the two. The atmosphere is reminiscent of a John Huston movie or a Tennessee Williams play.

In Girod's view, "Descente aux Enfers" is a murder story whose real subject is a passionate love affair. For the film, he has adopted a new, less sardonic approach, just as Dabadie has abandoned the affectionate irony with which he usually treats love-amitten 60-year-olds in the films of Claude Sautet he has scripted.

I asked Girod why he had insisted on Haiti as a location, when there were many other possible locations elsewhere in the Caribbean; why he had deliberately chosen to shoot his movie in a country that was in the throes of a revolution, when he could have found the same sultry beat, luxuriant vegetation and tropical storms in the Bahamas, Tobago, or the islands of Marie Galante or Desirade in Guadeloupe.

The minute he read Goodie's novel, Girod plumped for Haiti — like the hook's hero — because of its genuinely mysterious, idiosyncratic atmosphere, partly friendly and partly retiring and obscure, and because of its backdrop of voodooism and poverty.

When Girod decided on Haiti, it was still in the grip of Jean-Claude Duvalier's lethargic dictatorship. Corruption, infant mortality and illiteracy were rife. He first became acquainted with Haiti 20 years ago when he worked as an assistant on a film shot on the

French liner, the France, which put in at the island. Girod had already hoped to use it as the location of his earlier film, "L'Etat Sauvage". He failed to obtain permission, and had to use French Guiana instead. For "Descente aux Enfers", he travelled the length and breadth of the Caribbean without finding a more suitable or more extravagant setting than Haiti, the country that, thanks to the efforts of Francois Toussaint L'Ouverture, became the world's first black republic in 1804.

He was also attracted to the island because of the Haitians'

By Olivier Barrot

decorative talents, displayed everywhere on the brightly coloured "tap-taps" (buses), and their love of music — "kompas" is Haiti's version of reggae.

Ariel Zeitoun had doubts about shooting in Haiti while the Duvalier regime was still in power. Then in February there was a popular uprising and the Americans deserted Duvalier. There were also summary executions and lingering pockets of revolutionary fervour. Was it wise to go ahead with shooting?

Zeitoun and Girod decided to take the plunge, and the country's new leaders welcomed them with open arms. Haiti, which is justifiably proud of its home-grown authors (Roumain, Alexis, Roy, Depestre and Matelieu), has always had a minority of highly articulate intellectuals whose dialectical skills have been honed by

research at CERN (Centre d'Etude et de Recherche sur les Ressources Naturelles), "the West has more to fear from Pretoria's aggressive export marketing than from its withdrawal from markets."

The way South Africa has wrested third place as a world coal exporter and its drive to win supremacy in chrome and ferrochrome sales in recent years shows that this determination is present everywhere. As the Quai d'Orsay pointed out: "Pretoria has always been solicitous of its reputation as a dependable supplier of the West." Oddly enough, the South African economy would appear to be a prisoner of its own wealth, like its customers, over the

self-censorship or exile.

One such intellectual is Aubelin Jolicoeur, a character straight out of Graham Greene's "The Comedians". An immaculately dressed dandy whose arm rests languidly on the knob of his cane, Jolicoeur keeps open house at the Olofson in Port-au-Prince, one of those majestic colonial hotels like the Raffles in Singapore or the American Colony in Jerusalem.

Jolicoeur, who received a thorough classical education and is a prominent dealer in the works of local naive painters, had close ties with the Duvalier regime. During his brief spell as a minister in the new government, when he was strongly challenged by expatriate Haitian politicians, he had time to shoot a movie in Haiti, and to help organise filming from a material point of view.

True, he had been a friend of Pierre Brasseur, the late father of the leading actor in "Descente aux Enfers". And of course it was nice that France, which had kept its distance from Haiti for 29 years, should remember the existence of a country whose culture it had so strongly influenced in the past.

Brasseur has just appeared in a succession of mediocre films and returns to the stage this autumn in a Roger Planchon production. It is easy to see why he has been drawn to the passionate, tortured character of Alain.

His young wife Lola is played by Sophie Marceau, who was Brasseur's teenage daughter both in "Le Boum" and its sequel "Le Boum 2". Marceau can be reckoned

to be worth 500,000 seats at the box office. After moving into adulthood in various films by Alain Corneau, Maurice Pialat and Andrzej Zulawski, she now seems poised to display a new range of versatility.

The choice of the rest of the cast reflects Girod's penchant for putting actors in unexpected roles: Muriel Dubois plays a woman driven by greed and frustration; Germain Rinaldi, the playboy member of the Charlots comedy team, is given a very ambiguous part; Betsy Blair's role refers back to her earlier performance in "Marty" and "Grande Rue"; Hippolyte Girardot plays the beautiful lover. All these are well supported by African actors like Sidiki Bakaba, Jean-Baptiste Tielemans, and Banon.

Technical facilities are non-existent in Haiti. A boat was used to ferry a lorry carrying generators around — a vital standby in a country where there are frequent power cuts.

There were no film laboratories in the vicinity, and so no showings of rushes each evening. Girod just shot away and kept his fingers crossed. In any case, he had every confidence in the abilities of his Belgian cinematographer, Charles Van Damme, who worked recently with such directors as Alain Resnais and André Delvaux, and this time relied mainly on natural lighting.

There were fears that the shooting of "Descente aux Enfers" in Haiti would turn out to be an ordeal like that of "Ford Sagamore" in Mauritania. But they were unfounded: by bringing all their equipment with them, the filmmakers greatly reduced their risks.

Living conditions were comfortable in the capital Port-au-Prince. Jolicoeur was a different matter: the weather was either sultry or rainy, and there were no telephones or newspapers. The revolution was still smouldering, and the French film-makers wondered what sort of reception they would get. No one in living memory had ever shot a feature film in Haiti.

The crew perked up when they got to Cap-Haitien, formerly Cap-François, where Christopher Columbus's ship ran aground in 1492. The sea was in a delight, and the French football team was sweeping easily through the early rounds of the World Cup.

Francis Girod and his team saw virtually nothing of the Haitian revolution, to which the film was allowed to make only a passing reference. But they could see the reasons that lay behind it — the poverty in Port-au-Prince, shanty towns like those in Calcutta or Rio de Janeiro, people sleeping in the streets. Street names, car number plates, and television programmes were a constant reminder of the cultural power exerted over Haiti by the United States and Canada. Slowly Haiti is learning the rules of democracy and is due to hold general elections in 18 months. "Descente aux Enfers" will be released in December.

(July 24)

long term. "It would have to opt for a worst-case policy for it to scuttle its sales," one expert claimed. In 1988 when Rhodesia banned chrome exports to the United States, the USSR itself offered to supply Washington while GIs were fighting against the Soviets' allies in Vietnam. Botha probably remembers that.

(August 5)

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# The Washington Post

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## Russia Expected U.S. Attack, Says Gordievsky

WASHINGTON — The London station of the Soviet KGB was placed on extraordinary alert in early 1981 by a Moscow directive stating that the United States was preparing to attack the Soviet Union, according to informed accounts of statements by the most valued British double agent ever to defect from the U.S.S.R.

According to informed sources, Oleg Gordievsky, whose defection after a dozen years as a British double agent inside the Soviet KGB was disclosed last September, told debriefers in London and Washington that KGB agents in the United Kingdom were told to gather every scrap of information that might bear on the supposedly impending U.S. onslaught.

What Gordievsky was reporting was an intelligence alert, as distinguished from a regional or global military alert. A military alert would set in train movements of Soviet forces visible to Western spy satellites and other intelligence resources. No evidence of any military moves related to this intelligence alert was detected in the West.

Headquarters of the KGB ("Komitet Gosudarstvennoe Bezopasnosti" in Russian, or committee for state security) on Moscow's Dzerzhinsky Square, according to Gordievsky's account, gave no explanation to its startled agents in London why, how, where, or in what magnitude the attack would come.

The KGB operatives in London, Gordievsky reportedly has said, the stark directive appeared to be overreaction to the unpredictable, muscle-flexing new administration in Washington, but no nation's

agents can debate with the control center.

The key words in the 1981-83 directive, as identically related by British and American sources, was that the United States was "going to attack" the Soviet Union.

It is not known if these sources were quoting from the Gordievsky briefing transcripts, or were paraphrasing what they knew. There are many blanks in the Gordievsky sequence, and dozens of questions about it. For example, it could not be learned when Gordievsky told his British handlers about the 1981 order, or whether — if they knew of it in a timely fashion — the British informed the United States right away, or only much later.

Gordievsky, a KGB agent since 1962, was first recruited in 1972 as a double agent when he was stationed in Copenhagen, where he served two tours of duty. He was assigned to London in 1982, became deputy chief of the KGB station there and in June 1985, was promoted to station chief.

The British government and the Reagan administration have declined to make any comment on the information in this article or even discuss what has been disclosed in London about Gordievsky earlier.

The directive received in London, by Gordievsky's account, was neither a momentary bureaucratic blunder nor a fleeting alarm inside the world's largest espionage and secret police agency, then headed by Yuri Andropov. The order remained in force, Gordievsky reportedly said, through 1982 and until the end of 1983, when it was lifted without explanation.

While the order remained in force, on Nov. 12, 1982, Andropov became the surprise successor to the long-aging Leonid Brezhnev as general secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, the first former KGB chief ever named Soviet leader.

From 1981 to 1983, Gordievsky reportedly said, special watches were mounted on all activities of conceivable relevance to the supposed U.S. threat: movements of VIPs, U.S.-U.K. meetings, senior officials' limousine traffic. Everything was reported to Moscow in the intelligence sweep — including a blood drive launched by the Greater London Council.

The Washington Post has confirmed a story first placed together by BBC-TV reporter Tom Mangold

By Murrey Marder

and broadcast last November that Gordievsky made a sensational escape from the Soviet Union last summer, literally under the nose of the KGB, just after he was promoted to station chief and was recruited to Moscow, evidently under Soviet suspicion.

Admiral British and American intelligence experts describe the "exfiltration" of Gordievsky by Britain's MI6 as an operation as imaginative as anything in cloak-and-dagger literature. MI6 chiefs, it is said, assured Gordievsky that if he signaled from Moscow that he was in danger, all the resources of Her Majesty's Government would be drawn on to extricate him — a promise that they fulfilled.

Britain's previously most renowned double agent inside the Soviet system, Col. Oleg

Penkovsky, whose information was shared with the United States, was given similar assurances under similar circumstances in 1962 when he risked a recall to Moscow. As Gordievsky well knew, the British government's inability to make good on that commitment to Penkovsky cost him his life.

The 1982 "exfiltration" scheme involved a mock mobile trade exhibit led into Eastern Europe by Penkovsky's intermediary and courier, British businessman and intelligence agent Greville Wynne. Both Penkovsky and Wynne were caught. (Wynne was released in a spy swap in 1964.)

MI6 is said to have been much more imaginative in the Gordievsky case, and even hoped to extricate Gordievsky's wife and two daughters, whom he left behind. Sources said the plan involved transporting Gordievsky by land, air and sea, but details of his escape are still top-secret. American intelligence experts suggest the escape may still be confounding a furious KGB, and if so, could be useable again in some form.

The 47-year-old Gordievsky has been under "deep cover" since his double career was disclosed in London last September. The immediate rebound was expulsion of 31 Soviet officials and reporters from Britain, and the reciprocal expulsion of 31 British officials and reporters from Moscow.

The British are known to consider Gordievsky an unusual defector in many respects, not only for his lengthy service as a double agent. The British reportedly were impressed that Gordievsky had not broken with his homeland out of pique or for materialistic reasons,

but sincerely came to believe that the Soviet system was wrong, and that his espionage work might help to change it.

Gordievsky, it has been confirmed in Washington, was a unique source of information in preparing President Reagan for his summit meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Geneva last November. CIA Director William J. Casey, with the personal blessing of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, the president's close friend, met secretly with Gordievsky in Britain about six weeks before the Geneva summit, sources said.

Casey's prima interest then evidently was Gordievsky's firsthand knowledge of Gorbachev, his wife, and senior aides; their personalities, habits, idiosyncrasies and operating style. As deputy KGB station chief in London, Gordievsky helped to prepare Gorbachev's visit to Britain in December 1984 — three months before he became Soviet leader — and worked with the Gorbachev party throughout its British trip.

Last February, it has been learned, Gordievsky was brought secretly to the Washington area for several days of debriefing by senior officials of the National Security Council, the State and Defense Departments, and U.S. intelligence agencies. Information acquired in those debriefings has been shared selectively with some senior officials of the Reagan administration, sources said, but even many high-level officials with extensive experience in East-West relations are still unaware of the contents of those debriefings, and

Continued on page 16

## U.S. Oil Companies Go Their Own Way In Angola

LUANDA, Angola — Lavish parties are rare events here, but the U.S. oil company Conoco decided to fête its arrival in this war-torn country on June 28 in unforgettable style. It took over the newly renovated Penmore Hotel on an island across the bay here, hired two African bands, invited 400 of the capital's political and social elite and staged an all-night bash. Nearly the entire government showed up.

In this manner did Conoco, a subsidiary of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Co. based in Wilmington, Del., "take the dive," as its resident manager, Jack Blackshear, put it, into the uncertain political and economic waters of Angola with a \$60 million commitment to explore for offshore oil.

Increasingly, American firms are ignoring the public admonitions of the Reagan administration "to think about U.S. national interests" before coming here. They are going forward, too, despite threats from U.S.-backed guerrilla leader Jonas Savimbi, who already has attacked the Angolan facilities of the oil giant Chevron.

One of the continuing paradoxes of this African bush war is America's conflicting political and economic investment here. While the Reagan administration is supporting Savimbi's guerrilla struggle by sending him sophisticated U.S. weapons and other covert aid, American oil industry titans are squarely on the other side of the struggle.

They are pumping the bulk of the oil — 285,000 to 300,000 barrels a day — that provides the Marxist central government with 90 percent of its foreign exchange, the wherewithal to stay in power and pursue its attempt to crush Savimbi's National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

He acknowledged in the interview that, in early April — only a month after he returned to Angola with his first shipment of U.S. military aid — his guerrilla forces had attacked Chevron's Cabinda Gulf Oil.

The UNITA attack on an abandoned Chevron pipeline in northern Angola was a deliberate attempt to punish the company for statements one of its officers had made in Luanda in support of the government. Savimbi also said that Chevron must stop making "big statements" in support of Luanda, that it must approach him privately ("We are not asking them to make any public statement," he said) and that it must give him assurances the company will not block UNITA efforts to win more U.S. aid. In addition, he said, it must keep a low profile, as the other oil companies have. But if Chevron continues "insulting us — then we hit, then we hit. We say it is a wrong thing — you shall not do that," he said.

In Luanda, however, where another reporter visited during July, the American general manager of Cabinda Gulf, Will M. Lewis, was taking anything but a low-profile position. By funneling aid to Savimbi, he said, the United States is "backing the wrong guy here."

He advocated dumping Savimbi and urged Reagan administration officials to improve their relations with the Luanda government. "If they would just establish diplomatic relations and get an embassy here," he said, "Don't they have diplomatic relations with (Marxist)

Mozambique?" Lewis also was critical of the administration's decision to freeze all loans and guarantees from the U.S. Export-Import Bank to American companies doing business here until Luanda resumes negotiations on a Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola and stops making war on UNITA. The decision has forced Cabinda Gulf to turn to the French government for

financing to develop a new offshore oil field capable of producing an additional 60,000 barrels a day for Angola, about a 20 percent increase.

Cabinda Gulf officials say it will take \$160 million to \$180 million to fully develop the new Numbi field, which lies about 12 miles offshore. "We're just cutting the U.S. market out here," said Lewis,

Continued on page 17

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Bethel Leslie and Jack Lemmon at The Haymarket — picture by Douglas Jeffrey.

## Beauty in a poem of despair

THEATRE by Michael Billington

JONATHAN MILLER'S production of Long Day's Journey Into Night has gained half an hour in running time since I saw it in Washington four months ago. Length adds to the pain in this poem of desperation. But although this is a perfectly creditable version of O'Neill's autobiographical masterpiece — and worth seeing for the performances of Jack Lemmon and Kevin Spacey — it doesn't have the poising quality of Michael Blakemore's famous production for the National.

The reason is that Miller, in swathing the text in a detailed behavioural realism, misses something of the play's calculated artificiality. This really was O'Neill's bid for classic status. It is an accident that he preserves the unities of classical tragedy by compressing the whole history of the Tyrone family into a single day in August, 1912. And he harks back to Ibsen — and even further in time to Sophocles — by his technique of exhumation in which the family skeletons are dug up by one at the same time as the drama inches forwards.

What Miller gives us is the realistic texture of family life. In the first half especially, the Tyrone family interrupt each other, talk over each other, allow sentences to overlap. This is exactly how families behave; and it leads towards moments of exhilarating realism, such as the way Edmund's recouping of a neighbourly conflict about trespassing pigs leads al-

most imperceptibly into a recriminatory row.

You sense this is all part of a cyclical pattern. But what you lose in the process is O'Neill's careful planting of the evidence, such as the suggestion that Mary Tyrone's dope-taking was a direct consequence of her son Edmund's birth. Information like this is all part of the family's continuing psychological warfare, but here it gets subsumed in the overlapping, intertwined dialogue.

There is also calculated symbolism in the play's progress from bright, confident morning to the final fogbound, midnight descent into hell. But here Tony Straiges's dark-oaked American summer home is surrounded by permanent blackness as if it is always night with the Tyrone; what one misses is the move from precarious optimism over Mary's apparent recovery into the stark realisation that the family's fate is forever sealed. Miller's production is excellent at tensions of family life; but O'Neill's careful use of light and dark, sun and mist is blurred by a certain physical sameness.

But the production has certainly gained in raw, naked pain since I first saw it; and Jack Lemmon's performance as James Tyrone is better than ever. Mr Lemmon sports a shaggy mane of white hair that gives him the look of an ageing lion (I like the hint of Tyrone's vanity in his constant combing of his locks). But what is

remarkable is Lemmon's emotional volatility that enables him to change course in mid-sentence. Trying to calm Mary down when she is on a morphine-jag, he actually starts one sentence in teeth-gritting anger and then switches to placatory sweetness.

The other fine performance is from Kevin Spacey as the wretched, rakehell elder son: one of the best scenes in the evening is his mid-night confrontation with Edmund, to which Mr Spacey brings a frenzied, whiskey-sodden envy and rage at his brother's superior talent and a sozzled protective love. It is a performance imbued with the right self-hatred. I have been rebuffed for suggesting that Peter Gallagher as Edmund looks insufficiently tubercular (though O'Neill's stage directions talk of feverish eyes and sunken cheeks); what I really miss is the character's poetic intensity. And Bethel Leslie's Mary, while commendable, blurs the crucial distinction between the woman before and after she is on the morphine.

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## Llosa takes all

Joyce McMillan at Edinburgh

THIS Traversa premiere of Mario Vargas Llosa's Kathie And The Hippopotamus — the first play by this acclaimed Peruvian playwright and novelist to be produced anywhere in Britain — is an event to be welcomed.

Vargas Llosa is one of that brilliant new generation of Latin American writers whose work moves effortlessly from the most mundane social realities into all the competing realms of fantasy, memory and interpretation that make up the full human consciousness; and it is high time British audiences had the chance of enjoying the richness of his work.

Kathie And The Hippo is a graceful, intricate and humorous piece of writing about a rich Peruvian banker's wife who, bored with her comfortable life, has just been on an extended trip round the world; now in the attic of her home at Lima, she is having a book about her adventures "ghosted" for her by a hard-up writer and lecturer called Santiago.

In no time at all — under the influence of the ludicrous and prurient purple passages Santiago weaves round her standard tourist experiences — the pair of them are

caught up in a fast-moving cross-dressing fugue of fantasies about their respective banal lives.

Hans involved troops of lovers, a moment of madness in which she shoots her husband, and a strange African encounter with the prodigious sexuality of the male hippo.

His are concentrated on a real or imaginary affair with a kitchy student called Adele, and a fatuous identification with the writer and radical hero, Victor Hugo.

Out of this collage of expatriate, dreams and images, Vargas Llosa creates a powerful study of the way in which ordinary life conspires to crush the imagination, to limit human potential and to frustrate the libido that is one of our main sources of creative energy; and for a while, it seems that Stava Unwin's thoughtful production will do it full justice.

Bunny Christie has created an elegant and witty set — all plush carpeting, well placed lamps, and little synthetic images of exotic like palm trees and pyramids, and there are beautifully pitched performances from Alan Barker and

## Earth tremors

CINEMA by Derek Malcolm

NO Chinese film since the end of the second world war has had such a flattering reception as Chen Kaige's *Yellow Earth*, which went round the festival circuit last year and now arrives, trailing clouds of glory. There's talk now of a Chinese New Wave to match that of Hong Kong in the late seventies and Twopen right now.

It would be unwise, however, to expect some cinematic miracle. *Yellow Earth* isn't that, though it is certainly very beautiful to look at and has an atmosphere about it that only the Japanese cinema can match. But Chen Kaige is certainly an exceptional film-maker, and the least you can say is that his debut is as promising as anyone else's in the world last year.

Set in a village among the dry and dusty hills of Shanxi province in 1939, his story is of an Eighth Route Army soldier who comes to the village to study folk-song, and becomes deeply involved in the lives of the family who take him in.

His simple revolutionary ardour comes into conflict with the old order, and he finds himself powerless to do anything about it. He can't even help the family's 14-year-old daughter, about to undergo an arranged marriage and longing for her freedom. He leaves to join the Communist Party a chastened man.

*Yellow Earth* has a spare screenplay, and the playing is the opposite of emotional. Kaige gets his effect through visual and aural means, sweeping the arid landscape with his camera almost like Janaco swept the Kringarar plains, and suffusing the soundtrack with songs and music like the Taviar brothers might do.

The film is only 80 minutes and the compression adds to its force. I've seen no other Chinese film like it, since even the gentlest hint of propaganda or polemic is subjugated to the demands of pure cinema, laid out before us with a kind of intensity that's much more eloquent than words.

It seems a very private, personal film to come out of China, made by a director with a natural eye for relevant detail. No one should fear they will be bored, or that critics writing well about it are being merely patronising. This, by any standards, is a first-class film.

I have finally caught up with Sylvester Stallone in *Cobra* and rather wish I hadn't. George Pan Ammoss is the director, Colan and Globus the producers, and they ought to be ashamed of themselves. It is a very bad movie indeed and, more than that, thoroughly reprehensible.

In it, Stallone plays a Los Angeles cop who announces that crime is a disease and that he's the cure, proceeding to rid the community of its more obvious psychopaths by any means, legal or illegal, that he can. He is, in other words, a very dirty Harry indeed.

At one point, he tells a man he has cornered that he has the right before pouring petrol over him and lighting it. Charm is not his forte. Mega-destruction is. At another juncture a leeban, who happens to be a policewoman, is also done to death. There is virtually no end to the enormities, which American audiences have supported, baying, to the tune of \$80 millions.

It is with the fond but none too hopeful wish that British audiences won't that I'll now shut up.

If it is true, as the film suggests, that the blues in America are played and listened to mostly by whites these days, Robert Schwartz and Cork Marchessault's *Survivors: The Blues Today*, is the last witness of the great sea-change brought about by the emergence of soul among the black communities.

It is, however, more a concert film than a backstage documentary charting the change. The three-day event it covers took place in St Paul, Minnesota, in March, 1984, where alumni like John Lee Hooker, Dr John, Nick Gravenites, Corky Siegel, and Valerie Wellington got together for the extended sessions Archie Shepp was there from the jazz front.

Though it might have been good to pursue the thought that the blues have become a white medium, enthusiasts shouldn't miss this very well shot, Dolby stereo record of a first-class event, covering in a large range of blues styles and possibly one of the last great gatherings of its kind in America itself. Those days, it seems, there is more blues in the Berlin Jazz-Fest than anywhere near Chicago or New Orleans.

## Life force

Michael Billington welcomes a new play by Brian Clark

THE radical wife of a reactionary old general gets involved in a political cause: he meanwhile is haunted by her long-ago infidelity with an army colleague. Such is the outline of William Douglas Home's *Lloyd George Knew My Father*. So too, uncannily, of Brian Clark's new play, *The Petition*, which had its premiere in New York and now arrives freshly cast at the Lyttelton.

Mr Clark's play, which grows steadily in power throughout the evening, is far superior to its forebear because it is about more urgent things. Mr Douglas Home's heroines threatened to kill herself to prevent a by-pass going through her park: Mr Clark's Lady Elizabeth Milne jeopardises her marriage by signing an anti-nuclear petition and agreeing to speak at a rally in the Albert Hall.

We are often told that content alone doesn't make a play important; but it strikes me that any play concerned with the survival of life on our planet has a built-in dignity and weight. What also gives *The Petition* its impact is its gradual revelation of the pain and torment that lies behind a well-bred, 50-year-old English marriage.

Initially, I jibbed at the play's improbability. General Sir Edmund Milne is a dry old stick curled up behind *The Times*; his wife is a free-thinking, Labour-voting spirit enfolded by *The Guardian*. The separateness of their worlds is even underlined by John Bury's set: the general is seen against a background of an oak-panelled wall filled with military mementoes, while his wife exists in an airy boudoir sitting-room, all gentle landscapes and floral drapes.

I found it hard to swallow that two such temperamental opposites had survived a marriage of half-a-century, even harder to accept that all their long-accumulated political and emotional differences should suddenly come spilling out one morning in the twilight of their lives. What on earth had they been talking about for the past 50 years?

But in the second half, Mr Clark's purpose becomes apparent (it would be unfair to reveal exactly how). His point, I take it, is that marriage in England is often an alliance of strangers who camouflage and conceal their rage and hurt (as in Eliot they "are content-

ed with the morning that separates/And with the evening that brings together"); here the revelation of the general's stored jealousy is all the more forceful for being long-suppressed.

But Mr Clark's larger thesis is that, in an age of potential nuclear extinction, all the old rules are forfeit: that restraint, discretion, concern with status are pointless as we edge closer to the abyss. What shocks and stirs one is the very unEnglish emotionalism with which this is presented; and the sight of Rosemary Harris as an indie-reared, upper middle-class woman crawling across the carpet crying "I have to do what I can now" is one I shall not easily expel.

I wish the play's debate on nuclear issues were fuller and longer. But Mr Clark's achievement is that he has managed to link the private and public worlds and found a way of popularising major moral concerns (much as he did in *Whose Life Is It Anyway?*). Peter Hall's production also exactly catches the play's change of mood, starting on a level of edgy drawing-room comedy and eliding into the recriminatory soul-stripping of O'Neill.

The performances are exemplary. Rosemary Harris exudes humour, sanity, the faint personal negligence (her straggly hair tumbles over her face) that comes from absorption in public issues. She even acts guilt, knitting away with morbid concentration as if she meant to harm the needles when her buried affair is resurrected.

But the revelation to me was John Mills, who I have always thought of as a rather circumspect actor: here he has a moment of intemperate breakdown when he darts violently towards a bureau clutching it with prenasal grip and then leaps upstage with shoulders uncontrollably heaving. It is moving precisely because Mills has previously established the character as a ramrod-backed, stiff-legged disciplinarian who marches across the carpet as if on parade at Sandhurst.

At this and there were cheers for all the actors, but I hope some were for a play that affirms, in fascinating contrast to *The Cocktail Party*, that marriages can be redeemed without the benefit of guardian angels and that continuing life is more to be celebrated than triumphant death.

## Umbrellas in Sussex

Edward Greenfield at Glyndebourne

WITH umbrellas one of the regular themes of Peter Hall's production of Don Giovanni at Glyndebourne (Sevilla being unduly stormtossed that year), the Sussex weather did its bit to welcome Bernard Haitink back as conductor. Was the thunder real or theatrical you wondered, waiting for your picnic?

This was the production that provided the basis for a prize-winning recording from EMI, one which owed much to Haitink's unerring control of dramatic tension, with pacing never eccentric, but geared to bringing out the freshness of Mozart's inspiration. So it remains with the London Philharmonic.

Four of the principals remain the same as on the recording. Among the exceptions Richard Stilwell as Giovanni himself sings clearly, but never quite recovers from being made up to look like the Prince Consort, very un-Byronic against John Bury's early 19th-century setting. Felicity Lott as Donna Elvira found her usual

purity and sweetness only in the second of two successive performances I saw, but then ravishingly.

Totally convincing as a duo — provocative minx against big, handsome lout — are the sparkling Zarlina of Lesley Garrett and the resonant Maestro of the American, Stephen Dupont, making his British debut.

A late newcomer for three of the last performances was the Canadian soprano, Edith Wiens as Donna Anna, an apt successor to Carol Vanasse, similarly big, bright and vibrant of voice. She is the singer who took the role on the company's trip to Hong Kong earlier this year.

For the light, close acoustic of Glyndebourne, she will have to do some taming of her dramatic sound, as Miss Vanasse has so effectively done, but quite apart from the scale of the voice (exciting in an Anna) she effectively conveys the obsessiveness of a character presented in this production very much as a Dickensian figure.

## A master's vision of souls in desolation

IN Florence, 1986 is Donatello year. Appreciations of the extraordinary Renaissance sculptor compete with the national football team for space in Italian newspapers, and with some success: "Incredible Donatello," ran one headline, in a size of type rarely reserved for sculptors. It is the sixth centenary of the birth of Donatello — one of the most innovative figures of the Renaissance and of the history of art.

This collection of works from all over the world is the most eloquent account ever assembled of Donatello's strange progression away from the graceful, learned humanism of his day towards a more desolate vision of the human condition. Donatello injected his art with a psychological dimension which had never been achieved before, and which was held in awe for centuries.

The exhibition's organiser, Professor Giorgio Bonsanti, director of the Florence Accademia, says: "Donatello is not really a popular artist. But he is very very popular among scholars and among those who may understand him. It is sufficient just to contemplate his Madonnas or his Magdalene to see why. They are so severe in comparison to the smiling quattrocento madonnas. Their expressions are so peculiar and they confront people with problems, not solutions. Donatello was not one to give us solutions which were false, he left us with the problems."

Donatello was born Donato de Niccolò di Betto Bardi, the son of a textile craftsman thought to have been active in the "Ciompi revolt" of 1378, when artisans rose violently against the Florentine nobility. He was a notoriously bad dresser, opinionated and not averse to fighting. The 16th-century biographer Giorgio Vasari has him hanging a basket of money in his workshop to which his apprentices could help themselves.

He did not marry, living for a time with his ageing mother, widowed sister and her crippled child. He had a jealous eye to his attractive male apprentices, and once obtained permission to kill



On the edge of isolation... Donatello's wooden Magdalene.

Two works from the 1440s and early 1450s foreshadow Donatello's final statement at San Lorenzo, Florence, full of grim despair and violence. One is a small bronze crucifixion from Paris in which one figure looks up at the cross with exasperated misery while another

contemplates the switch: "That statue, that face, could only come from the late years. I see no serious possibility of this happening before."

Charles Avery, assistant keeper of sculpture at the V and A, and a leading Donatellian, wrote of the

**Florence is currently celebrating one of the most innovative figures in the history of art. Edward Vulliamy reports on the genius of Donatello**

one of them in Ferrara, but only laughed when he caught up with him. He reached the peak of fame during his mid-career in the 1430s, but his most striking work comes from his ill-documented, apparently secluded later years, when his health deteriorated.

Donatello's work has provoked more debate over attribution and dating than that of almost any other artist. In Florence, scholars went into a four-day conclave to grapple with "aspects and problems" of Donatello. It is an academic arena in which British historians have been particularly active, not least in the attribution of one of the exhibition's loveliest pieces, the Chellini Madonna.

Other madonnas show Donatello carving graceful and gentle figures, the child awathed, the mother pensive. A Madonna carved for a shrine in the Via Pietrasanta in Florence has the child's face touching that of the child, whose innocence is emphasised by a playful forefinger in his mouth. But, despite the physical proximity, the mother looks at the child from a great psychological distance, with sorrow. The great leap from Donatello's predecessors and contemporaries is being made.

He sinks a heavy head into the right hand. The other is the Victoria and Albert Museum's Lamentation: a group of figures mourn with an extraordinary range of expressed grief. Three contort their bodies with violent movements, vowing their despair wildly. The Virgin's face is wracked to the point of grotesque distortion, as though her misery was too intense to be further shocked.

The exhibition contains two late works which have been taken down from their usual dingy perches for illuminating inspection: the wooden crucifixion from San Piero a Sieve in Florence, in which the figure pulls painfully from the nailed hands, and the weighty St John the Baptist from Siena Cathedral.

There is fresh debate about the work which marks the climax of the exhibition and Donatello's career: the wooden Magdalene. Her disturbing aura, her stance at the edge of total isolation, places her thematically as a work of the late 1450s. But the surprising recent dating of a related statue in Venice to the 1430s has led some historians to date the Magdalene too to Donatello's mid-career.

"horrific realism" of the late pieces, and called the Magdalene "the climax of all the experiments in expressionism which had occupied the artist throughout his life."

She prays, apparently into empty space, with a haunting stare, unrelied by certainty of any kind. This is Donatello's solitary interpretation of humanist free will, in which his contemporaries sought the ideal man. His Magdalene hangs in a balance between meaning and pointlessness, with no apparent resolution forthcoming.

Donatello's immediate followers preferred to learn from his technical revolution and the mastery of grace and elegance which characterised his mid-career. When Donatello left Florence for Padua in the 1440s, the vacuum was filled by Luca della Robbia and a new generation of sculptors.

These are represented at the Belvedere but are only echoes of the essence of Donatello's late work, and in this sense, despite his great fame, he was isolated in history, vindicated only centuries later.

Donatello and His Followers runs at the Forte Di Belvedere, Florence, until September 7.

## PROGRAMME CO-ORDINATOR

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## Loving Buffalo

By Martin Pawley

**A CONCRETE ATLANTIS: U.S. Industrial Building and European Modern Architecture**, by Reynar Bonham (MIT Press, £16.50).

SOMEWHERE on the foreshore near the town of Lewes in Delaware, half buried in sand and reachable only at low tide, lies the hulk of an experimental reinforced concrete ship built in America during the Great War as a prototype for a kind of expendable merchantmen to carry munitions to Europe.

The existence of this vessel, as for as one can judge from A Concrete Atlantis, is unknown to Reynar Bonham, which is a pity because the USS Atlantis (as she was called) came close to embodying both his title and his theme — the shipping of American reinforced concrete technology to Europe.

As it is, Bonham concentrates his felicitous prose on a lengthy study of turn-of-the-century American reinforced concrete factories and grain silos, buildings that so impressed the first European generation of modern architects when they made their pilgrimages to the New World that they went straight home and built not only factories, but houses, hotels and hospitals in the same way.

There is, of course, an unassailable pedigree to this theory extending from Adolf Loos, via Walter Gropius and Le Corbusier, to Richard Neutra's influential book *Wie Baut Amerika* (How America builds) published in Ger-

many in 1927, but why should such a well-worn thesis attract supportive scholarship at this late date?

One must suspect that it has to do with Bonham's inexhaustible enthusiasm for America, now finished with such obvious targets as custom cars, surfing, and Los Angeles, and turning instead in his later years to God's own junkyard itself, the abandoned infrastructure of nineteenth-century American industry.

The depth of Bonham's love for this wasteland can be gauged by this act of tireless scholarship on its behalf. Oscar Wilde, for instance, could find only one word to put in his journal to describe his experience of Buffalo, NY, the site of the beginning of the concrete grain-silo era, and that was the name of the city: Bonham, who once taught in the State University there, contrives to dig up an implausible 1924 quotation from Erich Mendelsohn: "I took photographs like mad. Everything else (in America) was merely a beginning."

A beginning of what? For Bonham, one suspects, a romance with the production men of America. Those who have spent time in the exhilarating company of American engineers with their "If it ain't broke don't fix it," and "There's more energy in a barrel of oil than a barrel of fish-heads" — the latter a memorable dismissal of alternative technology — will readily understand Bonham's absorption in the details of silo and factory design.

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## The cruise of HMS Loathsome

By Dan Van Der Vat

**MUTINY IN FORCE X**, by Bill Glenton (Hodder, £12.95).

HERE at last is a full and colourful account of an incident in the last months of the second world war over which the Royal Navy, not surprisingly, drew a very thick veil.

Faced with a sudden, unexpected, and never fully explained request from the US Navy for a squadron of infantry landing ships to help out in the Pacific (hitherto a jealously guarded American naval fleet), the Admiralty jumped at the chance to get in on the last act against the Japanese.

All the British could scrape together, however, because of their heavy commitments in post-invasion Europe, was a collection of six vessels with only the most tenuous claim to the White Ensign. To these they added, uninvited, a headquarters ship, complete with rear-admiral and staff, called HMS Lethian.

This inadequately converted and dangerously overcrowded freighter was soon renamed HMS Loathsome by her scratch crew. Their conditions and treatment became a convincing imitation of those in the eighteenth-century Navy which led to the Nore mutiny, including appalling food, ridiculous amounts of "bait", and officers indifferent in both senses of the word.

Eventually, under the eyes of the US Navy in the Panama Canal, more than 100 seamen ratings mutinied over their particularly arduous conditions on the Lethian, whose water-distillation plant broke down just before they got there.

Apart from the three ring-leaders and a handful of diehards, the mutineers got off lightly. But, as ever, the Navy needed a scapegoat. This was not to be the marinet of a flag-officer in command, Rear-Admiral A. G. Talbot (who had the incomparable advantage of making the choice), nor yet the tired and ineffectual captain of the Lethian.

The short straw was forced upon Lt-Commander Kenneth Buckle, the First Lieutenant, who had come "through the hawsepipe" (up from the ranks). The proceedings in New Guinea stretched the limits of legitimacy. Buckle was dismissed his ship for disobeying orders and offering to treat with mutineers, while being acquitted of four other charges. In a sense he too got off lightly, but only if one accepts his guilt, which this book makes very difficult.

Force X was split up and played a very marginal role behind the front line in the last stages of the Pacific campaign. Had it not been sent, it would not have been missed.

Mr Glenton presents the pathetic story of Force X from the lower-deck point of view, which is justified for several reasons. As an 18-year-old "hostilities only" Ordinary Seaman, he was one of the mutineers. The lower-deck tends to be neglected in most naval historiography, and after reading his evidence one must conclude that no other viewpoint could have much validity. An extraordinary gap in the history of the Royal Navy in the last war has been well and grippingly filled.

### AUTHORS

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## Taking a dose of Empson salts

By M. C. Bradbrook

**ESSAYS ON SHAKESPEARE**, by William Empson, edited by David B. Pirie (Cambridge, £7.95; cloth £26).

THE tingling shock of re-reading Empson in contact with Shakespeare sparks off in casual asides; the best Empson is instant Empson.

Of *Falstaff*: "If he had no heart he would have no power, not even to get a drink, and he had a very dangerous amount of power. I am not anxious to present Falstaff's heart as a very attractive object; you might say that it had better be called his vanity, but we are none of us sure how we would emerge from thorough analysis along those lines."

Of *Pericles*: "In these passages I seem to get a reassuring echo of the poet Auden — a glaring eye, or I delude myself, peeps through the mask."

I think it was Dr Johnson who said if you read Richardson for the plot, you would bang yourself; and if you were to read Empson for the argument he professes to be constructing, you would need a breath analyser. It is exhilarating to meet crazy games played with fantastic seriousness like the competitive dowsing undergraduates give each other after examinations.

The latest piece on A Midsummer Night's Dream turns on the velocity of Puck, unfortunately for the very fine Arden edition Empson is supposed to be reviewing. He is shocked by Jan Kott who thought Bottom coupled with Titania, equally with Harold Brooks who termed this "bestiality"; he thinks Bottom would have liked it very much, but jealous Oberon naturally threw him into an instant sleep in the bower, and Titania likewise.

The main thrust comes in a trilogy on *Falstaff*, *Hamlet* and *Macbeth*, all reviews of Dover Wilson's New Cambridge edition. *Falstaff*, always a favourite with Empson, suits him best since he can empathise equally with the gentlemanly old monster and with Prince Hal, both in his public school magnanimity of Shrewsbury and his chilling assessments elsewhere.

Talking to the troops in Henry V was more important than talking to the General Staff, and the prayer before Agincourt is the only religious utterance I ever remember Empson to have approved. Elsewhere, religion gets a full dressing down, in Hunt the Syren (on the last plays) even though the unlucky critic selected "does not set out to express actual religious beliefs," but Empson scents them.

In *Hamlet* Empson constructs an illuminating dialogue between Shakespeare and the old play he was rebuilding, jumping in and out of playing *Hamlet* as well. In Using Biography (1984), his previous collection of essays, Empson said one must empathise with the author, including his assumptions and conventions; here he defends "indulgence in human interest while art-work is in process" against "the anti-humanist associates of Pound, Wyndham Lewis, Eliot etc", and therefore attacks symbolism in Shakespeare.

"My impression is that good local uses for the principle, to brush off some unduly greasy piece of habitual sentiment, were often found; but that the inhumanity and wrongheadedness of the principle was bound to shine through in the end."

This, his last word, is the key to Empson; neither his darting intel-

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## Bird of lost Paradise

By Tim Radford

**BIRD OF LIFE, BIRD OF DEATH: A Naturalist's Journey Through a Land of Political Turmoil**, by Jonathan Evon Maslow (Viking, £10.95).

THE quetzal is a beautiful iridescent bird that is sacred to the Maya nation. It is the symbol of liberty to the Guatemalans. The Order of the Quetzal is the nation's highest civic honour, the currency is named after it. It should be extinct by about 2000.

Jonathan Evon Maslow, himself that rarest of birds, a political ornithologist, already the author of *The Owl Papers*, set off in search of the quetzal in 1983. The first birds he saw were the zopilotes, the black vultures, scavenging in the city tip. To nourish themselves on the raw slop dumped there hourly by the garbage trucks, these birds had to compete with rats, dogs and people.

"The zopilote has a great future in our country," a small boy told him. "It eats the dead things. And here we have more and more dead things all the time." In the course of this journey the physical manifestations of a nation become increasingly intertwined with their own symbolism.

The death squads — "Never travel after dark. Always be courteous at road blocks. And never give any lip to men driving Chevy Blazers with black glass" — are

like lizards looting on a rock, watching the insects crawl by. The Biotope — the meagre nature reserve maintained in the hills for the quetzal to breed in — stands as an image of the Central American nightmare.

It is protected only by a man and his son. The reserve's founder is dead: gunned down by an assassin on his own university campus. The only research is being conducted by a demoralised student Peace Corps botanist with acute dysentery and even more acute despair.

And everywhere there is the army, the land mines, the arbitrary killing and torture, the war that "you can smell, and sometimes hear, but as an outsider almost never actually see in process"; the depression and hunger of the Indians; the charred stumps of the burnt and washed out hills; the closed churches, the missing priests and, bizarrely, the American evangelist "missionary" who tells Maslow "these people are really ready to commit themselves to Jesus."

He sees a quetzal, and notes its sensuality, brilliant colours, physical vitality and the legends that even now are appended to it. In a filthy cafe only lately raided by guerrillas, a kid tells him: "You know, I don't think we'll be seeing any more quetzals around here. The quetzal is the bird of freedom. But there is no freedom."

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## Bridge

By Rixi Markus

WHEN I went to Merbelle for a holiday, I tried to keep away from bridge as much as possible. But I was asked to play in a three-day party event at the Hotel Guadalupe, about 30 miles away. My partner was to be a Moroccan Minister, Abdel Kamel Farhaye, and I found him to be a good player and a congenial partner.

One of the most exciting hands of the tournament was the following deal by North at game all.

**NORTH**  
♠ 3 2  
♥ A K 4  
♦ Q Q 4  
♣ A Q J 10 5  
**EAST**  
♠ Q 10 9 7 2  
♥ A K J 10 8 6 5 3  
♦ —  
♣ —  
**SOUTH**  
♠ A J 10 7 5  
♥ —  
♦ —  
♣ 8 7 3

At our table, the bidding was over in one round:

**NORTH EAST SOUTH WEST**  
Mrs Markus 5D(1) 5S(2) 5D(3) 5C(1) 5D(1) 5S(2) 5D(3) 5C(1)

(1) I could not think of a better practical bid than 5D. I have learnt by experience that it does not pay to look for a heart fit on hands of this type. My partners always seem to turn up with a large number of black cards and, in any case, the hand is likely to play just as well in diamonds. Furthermore, a leap to 5D will tend to drive the opponents higher at the least excuse.

5S doubled went three down, and +800 gave us a "top" on the board. At another table, London's Paul Fenn and Lillian Matthews held the North-South cards. The bidding there was as follows:

**NORTH EAST SOUTH WEST**  
Matthews Fenn  
INT(1) 3D 4S Double  
NB NB NB

(1) Showing 16-18 points. I personally do not open INT when I have a small doubleton in a suit and a good five-card holding in another suit. On this occasion, however, North's choice of opening bid did not matter.

Paul Fenn played the hand beautifully in 4S doubled. He ruffed the opening diamond lead and led the eight of clubs to the nine and jack. East discarded a diamond. A second diamond ruff was followed by a second club finesse, and declarer then cashed one top heart and led the two of spades to the ten and queen. West exited with a club, and Fenn finessed dummy's queen and discarded a heart on the ace of clubs. A club ruff in the closed hand gave South his eighth trick and he now dealt with a heart, forcing West to ruff and return a spade into the ace-jack tenace. That was +790 to North-South.

Another South player, Serge



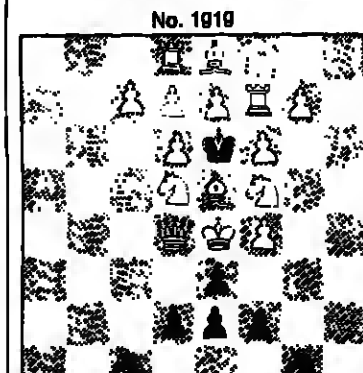
Cheyen of Spain, who was playing with Caslan from Chile, was doubled in 3S. He played it on similar lines to Paul Fenn, and thereby scored +930 for making 3S doubled with an overtrick.

There is one more point of interest in this amazing deal. If I am allowed to play in 5D, I can only make the contract if I ruff the opening club lead and immediately play the ten of hearts. If South wins the trick, he cannot return a trump, and I can ruff two hearts in dummy, bringing down the ace and king and successfully establishing my ace suit. If North wins the first heart and returns a trump, I have to finesse the jack, ruff one heart in dummy and subsequently play a small heart to bring down North's ace and restrict my losers to two heart tricks.

The Moroccan Minister and I finished in sixth place in the tournament. As we were playing together for the first time, we were played with our first position. Two days later, we played in a local tournament in Merbelle and came first.

## Chess

By Leonard Barden



White moves and mates at once (by R. Steinweg, pre-1910). Finding the right solution will explain both the unorthodox stipulation and the problem's nickname of "The Volcano Puzzle".

**Solution No. 1918:**  
White K at K8, R at Q8, B at K8, N at Q8, Q at Q2, B at Q8, N at Q8, Q at Q8, B at K8. Helpmate in two, black moves first. 1. KxN(B8) N-R1, 2. B-B5 B-N7 mate.

WHILE the eyes of the chess media were on K and K last week, England's

young players quietly returned from Puerto Rico with two world championships and six gold medals. True, the Russians did not attend and the opposition was mainly from Latin America, but the powerful English squad were convincing winners and would have been medal candidates even in full strength tournaments.

In the world title contest for student teams, England recovered from an early 1-3 loss to Mexico, won their other ten matches, and took the gold medal by a wide margin: England 32 1/2, Argentina 33, Austria and Mexico 28. Four individual golds also went to the talented BCF squad: IM James Howell scored 8/10, IM Stuart Conquest 7 1/2/9, FM Peter Wells 8/9, IM John Hawksworth 8/9, with Neil McDonald 5/7 taking a bronze. Since all our players had FIDE ratings of 2400 (English grade 225) or higher, many opponents came to the board with thoroughly defeated attitudes. In this week's game, White's strategy alternates uneasily between passive respect (3 Pxp, 11 P-K3, 18 KR-Q1) and lurches of aggression (12 P-B4, 15 N-K4, 22 P-KN4, 27 P-K4, 28 P-K5) which finally decisively weaken his king position.



Sergio Baraza (Panama) — IM Stuart Conquest (England) King's Indian Defence (Puerto Rico 1988)

1 P-Q4 N-KB3 2 P-KN3 P-B4  
3 Pxp N-R3 4 B-N2 Nxp  
5 N-KB3 P-KN3 6 P-N3 B-N2  
7 Q-N2 Q-O 8 Q-N2 P-Q3  
9 O-O B-N8 10 P-KR3 B-Q2  
11 P-K3 P-QN4 12 P-Q4 R-B1  
13 BxN BxN 14 N-Q4 R-B1  
15 N-K4 BxN 16 P-B3 Pxp  
17 P-B3 Nxp 18 P-B3 Nxp  
19 KR-Q1 Q-R4 20 P-K3 B-K6  
21 P-Q5 B-B4 22 P-K7 N-K6  
23 PxN R-N 24 Q-N7 B-B7  
25 P-K1 P-B2 26 Q-N2 KR-B1  
27 P-K4 P-B5 28 P-K5 Q-B4 ch  
29 K-R1 Pxp 30 Rxp Q-Q5!  
31 Resigns  
The winning double threat is QxR or RxRP ch.

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(Extensive 8 years minimum postgraduate varied work experience which include management and planning relief operations in developing countries required.)

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